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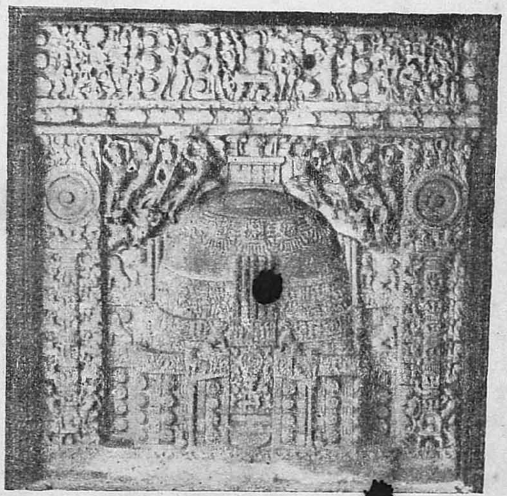

*Amaravati Sculpture, depicting a Stupa.*

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# CONTENTS.


Pages.

1. Dravidic Etymologies.
L. V. RAMASWMI AJYER, M. A., B.L. 1—8

2. Santabomvali Copper-Plate Grant of Nandavarma: A Reply to Mr. Ramadas' Review.
SATYANARAYANA RAJU GARU. 9—20

3. Santabommali Plates of Indravarma (*With plates,*)
SRI LAKSHMINARAYANA HARICHENDAN JAGADEV RAJA BAHADUR. 21—24

4. Satavahanas, Were they Andhras? (*Translated*)
PANDIT V. PRABHAKARA SASTRI. 25—32

5. Judicial Procedure in Ancient India.
J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., L.T. 33—45

6. A Short Brahmi Inscription from Arang (C. P.)
L. .P PANDEYA SARMA. 46—48

7. Hippuora and Satakarni (*Translated*).
PROF. JEAN PRZYLUSKI. 49—53

8. Devarayapura Plates of Praudha Devaraya II. (*With plates*).
Dr. C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A.,L.T., PH.D. 54—60

9. Correspondence between The Hon. The East India Company and the Candregula Family in the XVIII Century.
R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T. 61—71

10. Pulimburu Plates of Jayasimha I. (*With plates*)
R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T. 72—76

11. The Origin of the Right and left hand Castes' Divisions.
PROF. C S. SRINIVASACHARI. M. A. 77—85

12. A Newly Discovered Ms. of Bala-Gopala Stutih by Bilva Mangāla Svami. (*Illustrated*)
O. C. JANGOLY, EDITOR, P. RUPAM. 86—88

13. The Evolution of the Brahmanical Heirarchy in Ancient India.
S. BHIMA SANKARA RAO, B. A. 89—96

14. History of Rajahmundry (*Illustrated*). 97—112
BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNA RAO, B. A., B. L.

15. Kadambas of Kalinga.
M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA. 113—118.

16. Reviews on Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's Booklets, 119—124
(1) 'Kampli and Vijayanagaram.'
(2) 'Trilochana Pallava and Karika chola.'

17. Correspondence between the Hon. East India Company and the Kandregula Family in the XVIII Century. (continued)
R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T. 125—146

18 Malkāpuram Stone Pillar Inscription of Rudradēva (Rudrāmba) Śaka Saṁvat 1189.
J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L. 147—162

19 A Stone Inscription in the Champakēśvara Temple at Dimilāḍa.
SRI L. N. HARICHENDAN JAGADEB RAJA BAHADUR. 163—164

20 Studies in Vijayanagar Polity.
K. ISVARA DUTT, B.A. 165—188

21 Dhārākōṭa Copper-Plate Grant of Subhakaradēva of Orissa. (*With plate*)
SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU. 189—194

22 A Silver Coin of King Prasannamātrā.
L. P. PANDEYA SARMA 195—198

23 A Fragment of a Copper-Plate Grant of Śrī Rangarāya of Penugonḍa.
DR. C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. 199—202

24 The XII Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.
R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T. 203—212

25 Education in Ancient India.
K. VENKATAPPAYYA, B.A., B.L., B.Ed. 213—220

26 Rāyavāchakamu and other Telugu Sources of Krishṇa Rāya's Reign.
K. RAGHAVACHARYULU, M.A., B.L., 221—227

27 Evolution of the Brahmanical Heirarchy. (continued)
S. BHIMASANKARA RAO, B.A. 227—232

28 The Birth-date of Sivaji the Great.
RAO BAHADUR R. KRISHNA RAO BHONSLE. M.R.A.S. 233—234

29 The Discovery of the Author's Vṛtti on Vākyapadīya.
M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M.A. 235—241

30 Review on Prof. V. Rangachari's 'Pre-Musalman, India.' (Vol.I) 242

31 NOTES OF THE QUARTER. ETC. 243—248

# INDEX OF CONTRIBUTORS AND ARTICLES.

1 Bhimasankara Rao S., B.A.
Evolution of the Brahmanical Heirarchy in Ancient India. 89—96 & 227—232

2 Gangoly, O.C., Editor, *Rupam.*
A Newly Discovered Manuscript of Bala-Gopala-Stutih by Bilva mangala svamin. (Illustrated) 86—88

3 Isvara Dutt, K. B. A. (Local Fund Audit Dept.)
Studies in Vijayanagara Polity. 165—188

4 Jean Pryzluski, Prof.,
Huppoura and Satakarni. (Translated) 49—53

5 Krishna Rao, V. Bhavaraj, B.A., B.L.,
History of Rajahmundry. 97—112

6 Krishna Rao Bhonsle R., Rao Bahadur,
The Birth Date of Sivaji, the Great. 233—234

7 Laksminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb Raja Bahadur, Sri
1 Santabommali Plates of Indravarman (With Plates.) 21—24
2 A. Stone Inscription in the Champakesvara Temple at Dimilada, 163—164

8 Narayana Rao C., M.A., L.T., Ph. D., Dr.
1 Devarayapura Plates of Praudhadevaraya II. 54—60
2 A fragment of a copper-plate grant of Sri Rangaraya of Penugonda. 199—202

9 Notes of the Quarter (Annual Meeting etc,) 243—248

10 Pandeya Sarma, L. P.
1 A. Short Brahmi Inscription from Arang, C. P. 46—48
2 A. Silver Coin of King Prasannamatra. 195—198

11 Prabhakara Sastri V., Pandit.
Satavahanas, Were they Andhras? 25—32

12 Raghavacharyulu, M,A., B.L.,
Rayavachakamu and other Telugu Sources, for the reign of Krishnadevaraya. 221—227

13. Ramayya Pantulu J., B.A., B.L.
1 Judicial Procedure in Ancient India- 33—45

2 Malkapuram Stone Pillar Inscription of Rudradeva (Rudramba). 147—162

14 Ramaswami Aiyer, L. V., M.A , B.L.,
Dravidic Etymologies. 1—8

15 Ramakrishna Kavi M., M.A.
The Discovery of the Author's Vrtti on Vakyapadiya. 235—241

16 Reviews on Booklet,
i 'Kampti' and 'Vijayanagara' hy Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M. A. PH. D. 119—121

ii 'Trilochana Pallava' and 'Karikala Chola (By the Same Author) 121—125

17 Somasekhara Sarma M.,
Kadambas of Kalinga. 113—118

18 Srinivasa Chari C. S., M.A. Prof.
Origin of the Right Hand and Left Hand Castes' Division 77—85

19 Satyanarayana Raja Guru.
1 Dharakota Copper-Plate Grant of Subhakara Deva. (With Plate) 189—194

2 Santa-Bommali Copper-Plate Grant of Nandavarman: A Reply to Mr. Ramadas' Review. 9—20

20 Subba Rao R., M.A., L.T.
1 Correspondence Between the Hon. East India Company and the Kandregula Family in the XVIII Century. 61—71 & 125—146

2 Pulimburu Plates of Jayasimha I. (With Plates). 72—76

3 The XII Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission. 203—212

21 Venkatappaiah, B.A., B.L., B. ED.
Education in Ancient India. 213—220

Review on

22 Pre. Musalman India, Vol. I, by Prof. V. Rangacharya M. A. L. T. 242

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# DRAVIDIC ETYMOLOGIES.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

I. DRAVIDIAN: *añju* (To Fear), *acc* Fear, *aś* (To Move), etc.

These forms appear to show such a remarkably close correspondence in form and meaning to Sanskrit *anc-* and Greek *az-az* etc. that it used to be said that the Dravidian forms might have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan. The correspondences were pointed out by Pope and Gundert, though they did not discuss the question of the lender or the borrower.

The question of word-relationships between Dravidian and Indo-Aryan is much too complicated to admit of summary solutions such as the earlier Dravidologists contented themselves with. It has been for too long the practice of Sanskritists to trace Dravidian forms to Sanskrit sources; and as a reaction from this, there were also not wanting enthusiastic Dravidists who would father the origin of many Indo-Aryan words upon Dravidian. All this is no longer so easy[1] to-day in view of the complications introduced by recent researches. Word-correspondences between Dravidian and Indo-Aryan have today to be examined with special reference to the following topics, before any conclusions could be formulated:—

(1) The chronology of the contact or contacts[2] between Indo-Aryan (or even Indo-Iranian and Indo-European) and Dravidian;

1 See Prof. Jules Bloch's Sanskrit et Dravidien (B.S. L., XXIII) and Prof. Sylvian Lévi's Pre-Aryen et Pre-Dravidien dans l'Inde. (J. A., 1908). Both these papers have been translated recently into English by Dr. Bagchi of the Calcutta University.

Prof. Bloch's paper is specially helpful to the student of Dravidian etymologies in that the last portion of the paper visualises the numerous difficulties surrounding the question of word-correspondences between Dravidian and Sanskrit on the one hand, and Dravidian and the "Austric" group of languages on the other.

See also Prof. F. O. Schrader's paper on Dravidisch and Uralisch (Z.I.I. 1924) where Finno-Dravidian word-correspondences are given.

2 This question is closely bound up with the problem of Dravidian linguistic

(2) The nature, extent and chronology of the contact of Dravidian with the other language systems like "Austric" family of languages[3].

As these topics, however, still form subjects of enquiry, on which little light has yet been shed, we are scarcely in a position to come to conclusions about numerous Dravido-Sanskrit word-correspondences.

Yet it is possible for Dravidologists to examine the etymologies of the Dravidian words and to determine how far these have remained in Dravidian as "assimilated" forms. If a Dravidian word, for instance, which bears close resemblance to a Sanskrit form, is extensively represented in all dialects by cognate forms derived from the same early base, we advance indeed a step nearer to the possibility of these forms being "native" in Dravidian from an early period.

Tamil *ay*—, *aś*—(to move), *añju* (to fear) appear to represent one such set of Dravidian words having cognate forms in all the Dravidian dialects.

TAMIL:—The base *ay* with the signification: *to shake, to move, to be disturbed, etc.* appears in the following in Tamil: *ay-ai*, *aś-ai* (to shake, to tremble, to move), *ay-akku* (to cause to move, to send), *ay-*(ə)*r* (to become weary, to faint, etc.), *ae-*(ə)*ṛ* (excrescence), *ay-al* (neighbourhood), *ayā* (languour, faintness), etc.

The suffixes are all characteristically Dravidian and unmistakeable.

(2) *añju* (to fear) < *a*(*ñ*)*ju* < *aju* < *aśu* < *ay*.

The spontaneous nasal *ñ* is self-evident, and the change of *y* to *ś* or *j* is usual in Dravidian.

*Añjal* (sending, transit, etc) retains the primary meaning of "moving, transferring".—*al* is a common Dr. noun-forming termination.

*Añjal* (defeat, laziness, sloth) shows the figurative signification through diasemy.

affinities and orgins, about which various theories have been advanced. None of these, however, are strong or scientific enough to compel conviction. It is possible that contact between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian may have occurred at a pre-Indian stage. The whole question is so knotty that hasty and summary conclusions should be carefully avoided.

3 See Prof. Przyluski's "Noms de villes dans la gèographie de Ptolemèe" (B.S.L. XIX) and 'Un ancien peuple du Penjaub' (J. A., 1926), in both of which references are made to the possibility of Dravidian having come in close contact with ancient Austric in a pre-historic past.

As for linguistic influence between Dravidian and Austric, see my paper on "Austric & Dravidian" in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (October 1929).

4 See my Note on "Dravidian Spontaneous nasals" in the Ednl. Review (1927).

*añ—ar* (to be lazy) is another form which preserves the spontaneous nasal only, having lost *j*.

*acc—am* (fear), *acc—(e)r u* (to fear) show unvoiced affricates from the original fricative ś (< y).

*as* (ə) *di* (drowsiness) and *asappu* (absence of mind) are related directly to *ay*, *as*.

(3) *ad-ir* (to shake, to quake, etc.) owes its *d* to *j*; compare the change of *j* to *d* in Tamilian adaptations of Skt. words with *s*, e. g., *vayasu, vayadu* etc., and further, the change of *j* to *d* Tuḷu and Kannaḍa,[5] etc.

(4) *appu* (to press against, to put on), *ambu* (arrow) are also probably related to *ay-ppu* and—*mbu* (< ultimate *vai*, to place) are Dr·

(5) *a-n-angu* (to move) *ar(n)-u pu* (to send) may also be cognate; the *n* is probably a hiatus—filler as in *ka—n—al*. etc.

KANNADA:—Cognate forms are numerous in Kannada.

(1) *ay—du* (to go), *ay—ilu* (bewilderment), *asi* (to move, to tremble, etc.) *as—ur* (fatigue)[7], *ase* (weariness), *as—ur* (to be impatient)etc

Kannaḍa *s*—< ś < *y*, as in *pesar* < *pes'ar* < *peyar*.

(2) *añju* (to fear), *añje* (post, relay), *acca—ga* (agitation of mind), etc.

(3) *ad—aru* (to tremble) and its causative *ad—atu* (to scold), *adir* (to quive,) etc., show *d* from ultimate *y*.

(4) *appu* (to join), *ambu* (that which is made to move, is sent, (*arrow*), etc,

(5) *an—avu* (suitable place etc.), *anupu* (to send; Cf. *aya-ku*).

TELUGU:—*asi(y)āḍu* (to tremble); *antsu* (to send) *añce* (post relay), *añji—ka* (fear), *aḍ—alu*[8] (to be afraid), *aḍ—aru* (to shake), *anutsu* (to send), *an—angu* (to mingle), *appagintsu* (to entrust), *appu*, (loan, debit). *ammu* (arrow), etc.;—all these contain the original base *ay*, every one of the terminations being reducible to characteristic Dravidian formative affixes.

*pampu* (to send) should also go back the original base *ay*; the initial *p* being considered to be an excrescent sound influenced by the formative *p*. An initial *p* appears also in *panutsu* (to send).

5 See my 'Dravidian Notes' in the Indian Historical Quarterly, (March 1929).

6 Are the forms ale, alai, etc. meaning shake, wave, etc, connected with basic ay? The terminational ai, etc. does not offer any difficulty:—Cf. Koy (to reap, mow) kol (to kill), and kolai (murder), besides ay (to move), al- (to move etc.). -l- is an ancient formative affix, and -e, -ai are characteristic enunciatives.

7 These semantic changes from the basic idea of moving, shaking, are common in Dravidian; compare the idiomatic usage of other words like elagu (to move), kulungu (to shake) etc.

8 Note also the parallel forms k-adalu, k-adaru with the same meanings. For initial k-, see I. H. Q. (March 1929).

TULU:—*anji* (to fear), *anc-al* (relay, postal transit), *ad-uru* (to tremble), *ade* (fear), *ad-pu* (to release), *appi* to embrace, etc.

Forms with *y*, *s*, are rare, because these sounds in radical positions have changed to *d* in Tuḷu (Vide *I. H. Q.* March 1929).

KUI:—*aja* (to fear) and *ampu* (arrow) are current in this Central Dravidian dialect.

GONDI:—*anc* (to press), *ass* (to feel), *avv* (to move), *vass* (to feel) where *v* is a fully developed on-glide (Cf. the numerous instances in Gōṇḍi where an initial on-glide becomes a fully assimilated bilabial voiced plosive.)

KURUKH:—*amb* (to let go), *asr* (to tremble), *asg* (to attach), show the developments of the original base in this dialect.

BRAHUI:—The available words are few; but the following have arisen from *ay*:—*hījēng* (to fear), *hīj* (fear); for Br. *i*, compare *bis-ing* (to fry) from *bay* (to heat).

The above illustrations show clearly that the base from which all these have been formed, has been "native" in Dravidian from a very ancient time. How then are we to explain the correspondence in form and meaning between this Dr. base and the above-mentioned Indo-Aryan base? Are we to think that the similarity is purely fortuitous? If there is some connection, when and under what circumstances did it arise? Which family is the lender, and which the borrower? These are interesting questions that still await solution.

II DRAVIDIAN: "*to sit*".

Tamil: *uṭkāru, ukkāru, iru, kundu.*
Telugu: *kūts-uṇḍu.*
Kannaḍa: *kūr, iru.*
Tuḷu: *kuḷḷu.*
Kui: *kok.*
Gōṇḍi: *uddu.*
Kurukh: *okka.*
Brāhūi: *tūl*
Malto: *okā*

Of these, *iru* (to sit) appearing in Kannaḍa and Tamil (in certain contexts only) and in Malayāḷam (in common use as *irikkuka*) may easily be detached from the rest, as going back upon the ancient verb-base *ir* meaning *to be*, and connected with the "local" radical (or base) *il*. The prossemic change of meaning from *remaining* or *being* to *sitting* is self-evident.

Most of the other forms can, I think, be traced to an early base *kur*[9] (composed of *ku+ir*). It is interesting to note that the

base (or radical or particle, whatever it may be) has more or less the connected significations of *joining, mingling, merging, becoming reduced in size, sinking, deepening, etc*, in a number of Dravidian forms found in all the dialects. I shall here cite a few of such forms from Tamil with initial[10] *ku*:—

Tamil:—*Kumi, kuvi* to heap up.
*Kuttu* to dig
*Kuṇḍu* pit
*Kuḍi* low hut
*Kūḍu* nest
*Kuru* small
*Kuḻ-ai* to become a paste
*Kūndru* to fall from a high position, to be ruined, etc.

*Kuru* (short) also shows the primary meaningnote of *being reduced in size through joining, merging, sinking etc.* The primary note, however is still present in Tamil *kunḍru* (hell), Telugu koṇḍa etc.

Kurukh *kūb* hump, *kudd-nā* to join *kukko-s* boy, *kūg* to doze off; Kui *kūg* to decrease, *kok* to be small, *kokka* boy. etc; Gōṇḍi *kūg* to slumber, *kur-ung* to become small, etc; Brāhūi *k-uṅing* to eat, *khutt-ing* to dig, *khull-ing* to pierce,—are also instances where the initial *ku* has some one or other of the above-mentioned primary or secondary significations.

*Ku+ir*, then, as kūr or *kur*, would have had the signification of *remaining* or *sitting by being attached to something* i.e. of sitting in the sense in which it is used commonly in Dravidian.

Tamil *uṭkūru*[11] may, I think, be resolved into *uḷ* and *kūr* (the vowel of which latter form may have undergone a euphonic mutation owing to the influence of the rounded dorsal vowel of the first syllable).

The popular derivation of the word *uḷḷu-kku+āga-iru* is fanciful etymology.

9 Compare the series of forms: kur-uṅgu, kuttru, etc. and śuruṅgu, śuttru, etc. (the latter with initial palatalisation—through anceient front vowels now lost fricatisation of original k-) which are represented by numerous variants in all the dialects and all of which should be traced to an original base-kur-meaning: to become short. It is probable that initial-ku-should have been responsible for a number of connected significations.

10 Compare, in this connection, Austric kuy (to lie down), and a number of other cognate forms with initial-ku, given by Pater Schmidt in his works.—Cf. further, the same author's observation (Die Mon-khmer Völker, Page 39) about the Austric prefix ka-:—"Sowohl im Nicobar als in den au tronesischen Sprachen bezeichnet das Prfix-ka-Zusammengehörigkeit."

11 The common colloquial character of this form probably accounts for the change of the original-u-of-kuru-to-â.

The forms from *kūru* are so common to most Dravidian dialects that it is scarcely possible that Tamil, a very "conservative', dialect should have failed to possess a representative of these ancient forms. Besides, let us also note that *ku*—appears with the main meaning-notes in many other Tamil forms.

Telugu:—*kūtsu* from *kūr—tsu* (with the reinforcing affix *tsu* is directly from *kūr*.

Kannaḍa *kul*, *kur*, and Tuḷu *kullu* are variants of *kur*, the interchange of *r* and *l* being quite common in Dravidian.

Kui:—*kōk* < *kōr—k* < kūr; the *-k* is a reinforcing affix common in Dravidian. Cf. Tamil *kârita* *k*, *kk* appearing in minor verb-forms

In Gōṇḍi *udd*, the initial *k* has fallen off; *dd* < *dr* < *ṛ*,[12] *kuttul* stool to sit on, retains the initial *k*.

Are the Kurukh and Malto forms related to *o—kku*; (to become attached) i. e., to the base *o* as it appears in *or*, etc., or are they connected with *kūru*, through a form like Tamil *utkaru*?

I am inclined to favour the latter view, especially as *kūru* is so common in other dialects and, further, as *okku* does not have the meaning *to sit*, in any of the other dialects.

Brāhūi *tūl* is not susceptible of an easy explanation. If it is not a borrowing from some foreign language-system, and if it is connected with *kūr*, a change like the following is all that we can postulate in the present state of our knowledge: *Kūtir* by a process of of vowel-metathesis consequent on the shifting of stress from the first to the second syllable may have turned to *ktūr*, and then the assimilative absorption of the initial *k*, and the change of *r* to *l*, produced *tūl*.

A possible analogy of *kt* having produced *t* is furnished by the plural ending *t* appearing in oblique cases where the inflexional termination *t* appears to have absorbed the plural ending-*k* which appears in the Nom. forms, e. g. *ilumnā* brother, *ilumnā-k* Nominative plural, *ilumnā-t* Oblique Plural.

The discussion of these forms takes us back to a proto-base *kur* which, it may absorved, presents a remarkable similarity in respect of the prefix to certain Austric forms. The quest on of Dravido-Austric contact has been posed already by Prof., Przyluski. It is for Dravidian scholars to help the investigation of this question by systematic analysis of the etymologies of Dravidian words like the one under reference, so as to illuminate a chapter in the linguistic history of Dravidian, which might probably furnish as with important clues to the solution of of other problems also concerning Dravidian.

12 I, H, Q. (March 1929)

III. DRAVIDIAN: *vā*, *bā*, *vāy*, *bāy*: mouth.

One or other of these cognate forms occurs in every known Dravidian dialect. The base is presumably, therefore, native[13] in Dravidian. The base has given rise to a number of secondary forms:-

(*a*) "To speak" is an idea directly connected with the "mouth". Kurukh *ba'na*, Kui *basa*, both signifying the action of "speaking" appear to be derivative (or connected) verbs.

Tamil *pēy*, *pēs*, kannaḍa *pēḷ*, *pēḷ*, *heḷ*, Telugu *paluku*, Tuḷu *bakku* to ask, *paranḍu* to murmur, Kurukh *pēs* to command, Kui *vēs* to speak, Gōṇḍi *vēs* in *vēsori* (tale, narration) are, in my opinion, connected with the base *vā* or *bā*. Cf. Tam. *vayyu*, to blame and *paḻi* blame.

The initial *p* is derived from earlier *b*, the change of *v*> *b*>*p* being quite common in Dravidian[14].

The change of *āy* to *ē* through an intermediate æ is attested by many parallel instances, e.g. Tam. *kayaru*, *kēru*; *Śāru*, *Śēru*, etc.

The terminations ś, s, are from an original *y*, while ḷ, l appear to be verb-endings specially introduced to form verbs.

(*b*) Tamil *peyar*, *pēr* name, Kannaḍa *besar* name, Telugu *pēru* name, Tuḷu *pudar* name, Kui *bargi* command, Gōṇḍi *poḷar*, Kui *pada*, Kurukh *pinj* to name[15], and Brāhūi *pin* name, are to be, ultimately traced to *pey*, to speak.

*r* is an ancient Dravidian noun-forming termination, derived from ancient base *ir*, to be, to remain.

*pey* + *ir* would then be *that in which speaking or calling exists*, i.e. *what acts as a medium of calling others, name.*

Kannaḍa[16] –*s*–<*y*.
Tuḷu *d* < *dj* < *j* < *y*.
Brāhūi *n* < *ndru* < (*n*)*dru* < *r*.
Gōṇḍi *poḷar* < *peshar* < *pesar*,
Kui *pada* < *pajar* < *pay* + *ar*.

–*gi* of Kui *bar-gi* is an affix. Cf. Kui *or-gi* rice.

13 Compare, however, the Austric forms for mouth, given by Pater Schmidt, (Die Mon-khmer Volker, page 140):—ba, baba, vava, etc. Is the resemblance merely fortuitous?

So long as we confine our view to Dravidian, we might be tempted even to trace bây itself (which has the meaning of place in Old Tamil—Vide Nannul, § 624) to the base vay (to place) which is an ancient verb in all Dravidian dialects.

14 Cf. Tam. vâṅgu (to seize) with Kannada pâku; Tam. véḍi (fear) and pêḍi (fear) with Tulu boḍi (fear); Tam. vêl, pél and pén (to desire, etc.)

15 The common Kurukh form num (name) appears to be a borrowing from the neighbouring Austric.

16 For analogies, and for a complete discussion of these phonological changes see I. H.Q. (March 1929) and the Madras Educationl Review (1927, 1928).

With the above may be compared Kurukh *ba'r* to be called, to be named, so far as the semantic derivation is concerned. As for structural derivation it is also from *bā* to speak, with the addition of the Middle-passive Kurukh suffix *-r*.

(c) i. Tam. *vānu*, to fashion post, *pān-ai* pot with a mouth, Kannaḍa *bāne* large-mouthed pot, *bānu* (to shape pot.) should also be traced to the old base meaning *mouth*. Also, Kannaḍa *bāpu* swelling, tumour, Tuḷu *bāvu*, to swell, Telugu *Vâpu* swelling, may have their meanings derived from the idea of a mouth-like protuberance being formed in the case of swellings and tumours.

ii. Tam. *vār-kku*[17] to pour out, Kannaḍa *bāru* 'to pour from a vessel, Telugu *bāvu* to gobble up, Tamil *parugu* to drink, Kui *vāk* to pour out, are traceable to the base. Cf. also Tuḷu *bālu* to run out.

iii. The South Dravidian form *vāḷ* sword, goes back in meaning and form to the base *vā* mouth. The sharp edge of the sword is still today described by a process of semantic irradiation as its *vāy* or *mouth*. The final *ḷ* is a common noun-forming ending, from *uḷ*. Telugu *bâku* sword, is related.

iv. Tam. *vayal*, *vāsal*, *vadil* door, Kannaḍa *bagil* Tuḷu *bakali* are also derived from the base *vây*. The meaning has resulted by a process of metasemy.

For *-y-* > *-s-* > *-d-*, compare *kayai*, *kasai*, *kadai* and many other variants of this type.

-g- in the Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tuḷu forms[18] is probably from a slight fricative produced between the original base and the formative ending. Compare the colloquial variant *vagiru* for *vajiru* in Tamil.

v. Tamil-Malayāḷam *para* to speak, Tuḷu *paṇ* to speak and Brāhūi *pan-ing* to speak, are also probably connected with the original base for "mouth."

Tamil *paṇi* to say, and Tuḷu *pan* have been described by Caldwell as "borrowings" from Sanskrit *bhaṅ* to speak; but in view of the large number of native Dravidian forms adduced above, would this drastic observation of Caldwell's be justified? So far as the final *ṇ* of the above Dravidian forms are concerned, they may be purely native, being variants of *l* or *ḷ* as in *uṇṇu* from *ul*, etc. The Tuḷu word *patera*, word may, however. be a metathetical variant of *varta* > *barata* > *parata* > *patera*.

17. Tamil vali (to overflow), Kannada bale, Kurukh bayar, to overflow and Tulu bassa, overflowring, are probably ultimately related to the original base.

18 What is the relationship of these Dravidian forms to Indo-Aryan bâgil, door? There appears to be little doubt that vâyal, vâsal are very "ancient" in the Southern dialects; and if bâgil, etc. is related to vâsal, —as we have deemed it to be,—the Indo-Aryan form presents a strange coincidence which requires explanation.

# SANTABOMVALI COPPER PLATE GRANT OF NANDAVARMA.

A REPLY TO Mr. RAMADAS' "REVIEW"

SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU.

All the historical research scholars who have a little interest in dealing with the history of Kalinga know that an Era known as the "*Gāngēya vamśa pravarddhamāna Vijava rājya Samvatsara*', was introduced by the kings of the Ganga dynasty, whose suzerainty was firmly established on the royal throne of Kalinga for no less than six hundred years. Hence the era, which is vitally connected with the chronological history of Ganga kings became a subject of interest to the historians. The curiosity of knowing the period when the Era took its start, has stimulated no less than half a dozen Research Scholars, among whom M. R. Ry. G. Ramadas Garu, B.A. of Jeypore is one. Six years ago, he published a paper on "Chronology of the Eastern Gānga kings of Kalinga", in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*, *Vol. IX,* in which he traced from astronomical calculations that the Gāngēya era of Kalinga took its start from Ś. Ś. 271 or A. D. 349. But I regret to say that my theory regarding the Gāngēya Era which I am going to discuss in this article does not agree with his theory. In his REVIEW on my article on "Santa Bomvāli Copper-plate Grant of Nandavarma"[1], great anxiety is shown by Mr. Ramadas to find arguments to justify his own theory. In the following pages, the reader can clearly see how far Mr. Ramadas has succeeded in his attempt. Mr. Ramadas says in his REVIEW :

"In the inscriptions of the earlier centuries of the Christian era, the numerical figures have no place values. The figures in the unit's place are quite distinct from the corresponding multiples of ten; these differed from the corresponding multiples of 100. * * * According to this, the figure of the plate under review cannot be taken to express 200."

I admit that in some inscriptions of the earlier centuries of the Christian era, the numerical figures have no place values, and they are distinct from each other. But this distinction is not observed in all the historical documents of Kalinga. In some records, the place value is not observed and the figures of unit's place, ten's place and hundred's place are distinct from each other: while in other records

1 See *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. II, Pts., 3 & 4, pp. 185 ff.

the place value is observed and the same figures are used in every place as at present. Both the methods are adopted in the records of the Gānga kings of Kalinga. But Mr. Ramadas tacitly assumes that the later method is not found in the earlier records of Kalinga. In order to clear this point, some figures of the Copper-plate Grants of the kings of Nandavarma's line are given below: The dates in them are mentioned both in numerical figures and in words as well:—

1. Chidivalasa C. P. grant of Dēvēndravarma, dated 397 of the Gāngēya era. ( ) = *śatatrayē saptādhika navati ankēnāpi* "
2. Dharmalingēśvara C. P. grant of Anantavarma, son of Dānārṇava, dated in 204 Gāngēya era = *s'atadvayē chaturuttarē.*
3. In the Santa Bomvāli C. P. grant of Nandavarma, the date is given as ( ) i.e. 221.

From the above mentioned Dharmalingēśvara C. P. Grant of Anantavarma, it is clearly known that the figure used in the hundred's place is 2, and the same figure is used both in the hundred's and ten's place, as in the Plates under review. This figure is also found in the inscriptions of Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭṭa of 9th century A. D., and in the Copper-plate inscriptions of the Rāshṭrakūṭa *Śankaragana* of the last part of the 8th century A. D. In the scripts of Nepal, these numerical figures were used in the 9th century A. D.[2] If Mr. Ramadas wants to verify the figures of Nandavarma's plates with the figures of Anantavarma's plates, I can supply him with a clear ink-impression of Anantavarma's charter, by which, I believe, he will realise his own mistake.

Mr. Ramadas found a curve and a comma-like stroke near the figure 200, and remarks that those who have studied the document previously overlooked the above curve and comma-like-stroke. But having again examined the original plates very carefully and seeing that the plates are so deeply engraved, I can boldly say that no such mistake could be made by those that saw the original plates. Epigraphists place greater reliance on the original texts of historical documents than on their facsimilies, pencil rubbings or ink-impressions. If Mr. Ramadas were to see the original plates, preserved with the Rajah Saheb of Tekkali, he will, I am sure, find neither the curve nor the comma-like stroke, referred to by him, on a mere perusal of the pencil rubbing or the ink-impression.

2 See *J.A H.R.S.* Vol. II. P. 2.

3 See *J.A.H.R.S* Vol. II Pts. 3 & 4 p p. 271—76.

4 See "*The Palæography of India*" by Pandit G. H. Ojha, Plates LXXI and LXXV.

In editing the Santā-Bomvāli C. P. Grant, I observed that palæographically the charter belonged to the 9th or 10th century A.D. Mr. Ramadas having put a series of years between 1000 and 1199 A.D., in which some eclipses occurred on the new-moon day of *Āshāḍha* and having made some calculations to verify the years of some documents goes on remarking that "thus in those two centuries (?), assumed on palæographical authority, not even one year could stand these four tests." Here I wonder how he overlooked the fact that 9th and 10th centuries have no connection with the years that fall between 1000 and 1199 A. D. Such simple blunders can never be expected from any research scholar. Again, he admits that the charter was granted on one date and the plates were engraved on another date. When two dates are clearly found in one document, on what authority could he say that "*Amāvāsya* when the solar eclipse had occured must have been the one that immediately preceded the 5th *tithi* of *Āshāḍha*?" I say the charter might have been granted in the month of *Vais'ākha* or *Jyēshṭa* making due allowance for the delay which is necessarily caused on account of going through usual formalities.

About 35 sets of copper-plate inscriptions of the Ganga kings of Kalinga are discovered up to date, among which the following plates are important as they record eclipses:—

1. C. P. grant of Dēvēndravarma of (3)51 Gāngēya Era: Solar eclipse.
2. C. P. grant of Indravarma of 128 Gāngēya Era: Lunar eclipse.
3. C. P. grant of Indravarma of 154 Gāngēya Era: Solar eclipse.
4. C. P. grant of Nandavarma of 221 Gāngēya Era: Solar eclipse.
5. C. P. grant of Anantavarma of 304 Gāngēya Era: Solar eclipse.
6. C. P. grant of Satyavarma of (3)51 Gāngēya Era: Solar eclipse.
7. C. P. grant of Dēvēndravarma of 397 Gāngēya Era: Solar eclipse.

The above mentioned records must correspond, according to the calculation of Mr. Ramadas, to the following years of the Christian era:

*Solar eclipses*:—505; 570; 600; 653; 700; 746.

*Lunar eclipse*:—477.

Now, I request Mr. Ramadas to verify the above mentioned dates and to find out whether the eclipses had occurred in those years; Let him see how far his assumption regarding the Gāngēya Era is correct.

Mr. R. Subbarao, M.A., of Rajahmundry, in editing the Chiḍivalasa Grant of Dēvēndravarma, dated 397 Gāngēya era, stated as follow:

"If according to my friend (Mr. Ramadas) the Gāngēya Era, was founded in Śaka 271, Dēvēndravarma of the present grant would have ruled in Śaka year 668 or A.D. 746 i.e., 17 years after Kāmārṇava's accession to the throne of the later Gānga dynasty, according to my

friend's calculation, and 23 years according to other calculation. In other words, the donor of the Chīḍivalasa grant and Kāmārṇava I., the founder of the later Gāṅga line, would not only be contemporaries but would have also ruled from the same place, viz. Kalinga nagara. This would be hard to accept."

Let us see what Mr. Ramadas says on this point. Six years back, when Satyavarma's grant issued in Gāṅgēya Era 351 was known as the latest record of that dynasty, Mr. Ramadas stated thus:—

"Taking the 351st year of the Gāṅgēya Era to be the last year of Satyavarma's reign, Kāmārṇava I. came to the throne in Śaka 651." But when he found Dēvēndravarma's grant of the 397th year of the Gāṅgēya Era, he changed his opinion, and he now says:—"According to the Vizagapatam plates, Kāmārṇava I. began his reign in Ś. Ś. 718 or A. D. 786[5], and according to Naḍagām plates his reign begins in Ś. Ś. 700 or A. D. 778." In order to strengthen his view-point, he says that it is based on the peculiarity of *Anka* system of the Gāṅga kings of Orissa according to which we have to deduct some sixty five years from the regnal period of 16 kings of Kāmārṇava's line, which began from Kāmārṇava I. and ended in the last regnal year of Madhu-Kāmārṇava, father of Vajrahasta, whose rule ended in the 960th year of the Śaka era.

Now let us see how the *Anka* system was worked in Orissa. From the stone inscriptions of the renowned king Anantavarma *alias* Chōḍagangadēva, of the so called later Ganga dynasty, we learn that although the *Anka* or *Śrāhi* prevailed in his time, all the years following 1, 6, 10, 16, 20, 26, 30 etc., were not cut off from his regnal years. From the Korni C. P. grant of Chōḍagangadēva, we know that his reign began from Ś.Ś. 999 or A. D. 1077. Now we shall verify his *Ankas* or *Śrahis* with Śaka years years which are mentioned in the stone inscriptions of Mukhalingam and other places of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. *Saka* years—1004, 1020, 1033, 1045, 1048, 1050, 1060, 1068, 1069. *Anka* or *Śrāhis*—8, 23, 37, 49, 53, 54, 63, 72, 73.

Since Ś.Ś. 1004 is *Anka 8*, we infer that the 1st year and the 6th year are omitted. In some inscriptions at Mukhalingam, the same Śaka year bore two different *Anka* years (e.g.) Ś.Ś. 1060 is put down both as *Anka 63* and *Anka 64*. From this what we can infer is that the *Anka* usually began from the 4th day after the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of the month *Bhādrapada*, and that therefore the month of the Śaka year previous to that bore *Anka 63*, while the months from *Bhādrapada* onwards bore a different *Anka 64*. It is on this supposition that Ś.Ś. 1004 bears both of the *Ankas 7* and *8*. During the long reign of Anantavarma *alias* Chōḍagangadēva we see

5 This must be A. D. 796, but not 786.

only two years were cut off. The last year of his reign is Ś.Ś. 1069, the *Anka* is 72, of which the total number of years he ruled being 70.

We thus see that according to the system prevailing in the time of Chōḍagangadēva the years that are omitted are the 1st year and the 6th year. All the other years are shown in the *Anka*.[6] The same system was continued by his son Ēkajaṭā Kāmārṇavadōva but during the reign of Rāghava, his second son, the 1st, 6th, 10th and the 16th years have been cut off and for his period of about 14 years the *Anka* is put down as 18. But in the subsequent reigns we see that *Anka* 10 finds a place. Since *Anka* 30 also finds a place it can be said that the years ending in zero are not omitted. It can be seen from a close examination of the *Ankas* of Lāngulıya Narasimhadēva, who flourished during the last part of the 13th century A. D., that the first year and the years ending in 6 (and not in 0) are omitted. But in the subsequent period (in the time of Vīrabhānudēva of A. D. 1352—1379) figures ending in zero are also omitted and the system in this final shape is in use at present in Orissa. Hence, in dealing with the periods of the Kings of Orissa prior to the 14th century, we are not justified in applying the reduction that came into vogue in the 14th and subsequent centuries of the Christian era. We may, with some show of reason, apply the system, we have seen, to the reign of Anantavarma *alias* Chōḍaganga i.e. the system of reducing the period by 2 years. But even this does not seem to be applicable to the periods recorded in the Vizagapatam plates and the Nadagām plates, because a period of ½ year is given to one king Madhukāmārṇava in both the plates and in the system of *Anka* calculation, a half

6 (1) Ekajatâ Kâmârnava
For *Saka*—1070, 1071, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1077. *Anka*— 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10
(2) Râghava
For *Saka*—1082, 1084, 1091, 1092. *Anka*— 5, 8, 17, 18.
(3) Râjarâja
For *Saka*—1093, 1094, 1104, 1109, 1110, 1114. *Anka*— 3, 4. 14, 22, 23, 27.
(4) Narasimha I
For *Saka*—1127, 1228, 1134. *Anka*— 10, 11, 17.
(5) Aniyanka Bhîma
For *Saka*—1138, 1152, 1158, 1158. *Anka*— 7, 22, 30, 31.
(6) Narasimha Râjarâja
For *Saka*—1163, 1167, 1168, 1178, *Anka*— 4, 10, 11, 23.
(After some kings)
(7) Lângula Narasimha
*Saka*—1201, 1204, 1205, 1211, 1212, 1212, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1221,
*Anka*— 3, 7, 7; 13, 14, 14, 15, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25.
For *Saka*—1224, *Anka*— 27.
(After some kings)
(8) Bîra Bânu or Bhânu
and for *Saka*—1275, 1289, 1298. *Anka*— 3, 18, 31. respectively.
(Here the *Anka* system is regulated; and the years following 1, 6, 10, 16, 20, etc., are cut off).

year does not find a place. It can therefore be assumed, that the periods given in the plates are not *Ankas*, but actual years of their reign. And thus Kamarnava I's reign must begin from Ś.Ś. 662 or A. D. 740 according to Vizagapatam plates, and in Ś.Ś. 610 or A.D. 688 according to Naḍagām plates. Accepting that the first regnal year of one king and the last year of his predecessor might have fallen in the same year, I deduct 14 years from the regnal period of 16 kings. Now, according to Mr. Ramadas, Dēvēndravarma of 397 Gāṅgēya Era must have ruled in Ś.Ś. 668 or A. D. 746, and this overlaps the regnal years of Kamarnava I., of the so called later Gāṅga line, who ruled from the same place, viz: Kalinganagara. Hence, in Mr. Subbarao's words, I can say that the calculation of Mr. Ramadas regarding the Gāṅgēya Era is really hard to accept. The difficulty in accepting Mr. Ramadas' date is still further increased by a recently discovered set of copper-plates, of Kāmārṇava bearing the date 526 Gāṅgēya Era. This brings Kamarṇava up to A. D. 875, according to the initial date of Mr. Ramadas, while according to Naḍagām plates, Vajrahasta II should have been ruling from Kalinganagara.

I may mention that this confusion to which we are thus led can only be cleared by supposing that five collateral branches (according to the C. P. grants of Chodagangadēva), of the Gāṅga family were ruling in Kalinga at one and the same time from different cities. The confusion referred to is due to the distinction which scholars have drawn between the earlier Gāṅgas and the later Gāṅgas. Among the earlier Gāṅgas, Hastivarma and others are mentioned; and among the later Gāṅgas, Kāmārṇava and his brother Dānārṇava and others are mentioned. These are supposed to have replaced the earlier Gāṅgas. But in my article on "Phulasara C. P. grant of Kirtirajadeva"[7] I explained that five collateral branches of Gāṅga dynasty were ruling in five parts of Kalinga. The *Birudas* (royal titles) of the five collateral branches were quite distinct from one other, though all of them belonged to one Gāṅga dynasty and all worshipped the God Gōkarṇasvāmi. The five branches were ruling from different cities of Kalinga. In order to clear the matter, I mention below the *Birudas* and other necessary information available about each of the lines of the five branches:—

(1) *Kāmārṇava's line*:—This was ruling over the kingdom from Dantapura, the reputed capital of Kalinga, which is mentioned in the Buddhist literature. From the Korni C.P. grant of Chōḍagangadēva we learn that Dantapura was the 'Rājadhāni' or capital of Kalinga. In the plates of Indravarma (Gāṅgēya era 139 and 137) the name Dantapura is seen. Hence, it can be inferred that Kalinganagara (City of Kalinga) referred to Dantapura for many years. Afterwards

7 See *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. III, Pt. 1, pp. 30—40.

when Vajrahasta of Dānārṇava's family acquired the suzerainty of Kalinga, the name of 'Kalinganagara' or Kalingāvaninagara' was attached to the name of their new city, which at first was simply known as 'Nagara'. The *Birudas* (or titles) of this line will be mentioned in the following paragraphs.

(2) *Dānārnava's line*:—The geneology of this line is mentioned in the C. P. grants of Vajrahastadēva and Chōḍagangadēva. They were ruling from Nagara which was located at Mukhalingam. The *Birudas* of this line run thus:—

"Ōm! Svasti akhila bhuvana vinuta naya vinaya dayā dāna
"dākshiṇya satya śaucha śauryya dhairyādi guṇa ratna pavitrakāṇām
"Ātrēyasā gōthrāṇām vimala vichārāchāra puṇya salila prakshālita
"kalikāla kalmasha maśīnam Mahēndrāchala śikhara pratishṭhitasya
"sacharāchara gurōḥ sakala bhuvana nirāmmanaika sūtradhārasya
"śaśānka chūḍāmaṇēr bhagavatō Gōkarnna svāminah prasād-āsāditaika
"śankha bhērī pancha māhaśabda dhavala chhattra hēma chāmara vara
"vṛshabha lānchhana samujjvala samasta sāmrājya mahimnāmanēka
"samara samghaṭṭa samupalabdha vijaya lakshmī samālingitōttunga
"bhujadaṇḍa maṇḍitāṇām Trikalinga mahībhujām Gangānāmanvaya
"malankarishṇōr-vishṇōriva vikramākranta dharāmaṇḍalasya."

(3) *Gunārnava's line*:—About two sets of C. P. grants of the kings of this line are discovered up to date. No date is given in their charters. They were ruling Bamvāḍi Vishaya (present Bomvāli Taluk) from the city Svētaka, which may be located near Śrī Kūrmam which was once called Svētāchalam just like Nīlāchalam and Arunāchalam. The *Birudas* of this line run thus:—

"Ōm Śvasti Svētakādhishṭhānat bhagavachcharāchara gurōs.
"sakala śaśānka 'śēkharasya sthityupatti praḷaya kārana hētōḥ Mahēn-
"drāchala śikhara nivāsinaḥ Śrimad Gōkarnnēśvara bhaṭṭārakasya
"charaṇa kamalārādhanāvāpta puṇya nichayaḥ śakti traya prakarshānu-
"ranjita asēsha sāmanta chakra svabhujabala parākrā. ta sakala Kalingā
"dhi rājyō parama māhēśvarō mātā pitṛ pādānu dhyatō mahārājādhirajō
"Gangāmalakula tilakaḥ * * *"

(4) *Mārasimha's line*:—Only one C. P. grant of this has come to light i.e. the C. P. grant of Kīrttirājadēva. The Kings of this line were ruling Sōḍāmaṇḍalam from the Kalyānapura, which may be located near Sōradā taluk of Ganjam District. The *Birudas* of this line run thus:—

"Ōm Svasti Kalyāna purāt parama mahēśvara samarājiranēka
"ripudarpa marddana bhujabala parākrama Gangannṛpakula valamba-
"nasthambhaḥ śankhaika śabdābhinandita jagajhampa tūrya dhvāna
"vidhvasta samastārāti chakra mahāmaṇḍalika Śrīman * * *" These
"kings were using 'Khaṇḍānka' only.

(5) The last line is that of Vajrahasta, about which nothing yet known.

The style of each of the five lines of these collaterel branches is quite different from the other. It is thus clear that the Gāṅgēya Era started in Kalinga, since the time of Kāmārṇava, the first Ganga king who ascended the throne of Kalinga, that is, about the last part of the 7th century or the first part of the 8th century A. D. As I discussed the matter in my article on the "Phulsāra C. P. grant of Kīrthirājadēva"[8], there is no necessity of going again through the subject.

Again to trace the period of Nandavarma phraseologically, it can be proved that the Santabomvāli charter belongs to the first part of the third century of Gāṅgēya Era.

If closely examined, it will be seen that the *Birudas* or royal titles of this line have been moulded into three remarkable stages within a period of 250 years from Gangēya Era 80 to 342.

1. In the first and second centuries of Gangēya Era, the *Birudas* run thus:—

"ओं स्वस्ति (।*) सर्व्वर्त्तु सुख रमणीयाद्विजय कलिङ्गनगरात्सकल भुवननिर्म्माणैक सूत्रधारस्य भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनस्य चरणकमल युगल प्रणामादपगत कलिकलङ्को विनय नय सम्पदाधार: स्वासिधारा परिस्पन्दाधिगत सकल कलिङ्गाधिराज्यश्चतुरुदधि तरङ्गमेखलावनीतल प्रविततामलयशा अनेक समर संक्षेभ जनित जय शब्दा गङ्गामल कुलप्रदीप: प्रतापातिशयानामित समस्त सामन्त चूडामणि प्रभामञ्जरी पुञ्जरञ्जित चरणो मातापितृ पादानुध्याता परममाहेश्वर ... ... ..."

2. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the *Birudas* run thus:—

"ओं स्वस्ति(।*) अमरपुरानुकारिण: (or) सकलवसुमतीतल तिलकायमानात्) सर्व्वर्त्तुसुखरमणीयात् विजयवत: कलिङ्गनगर वासकात् महेन्द्राचलामलशिखर प्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरो: सकल भुवननिर्म्माणैक सूत्रधारस्य शशाङ्कचूडामणे भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिन: चरणकमलयुगल प्रणामाद्विगलित कलिकलङ्को गङ्गामलकुलतिलको निजनिस्त्रिंश धारोपार्ज्जित सकलकलिङ्गाधिराज्य: प्रवितत श्चतुरुदधितरङ्ग मेखलावनीतलामलयशा अनेकाहव संक्षोभ जनित जयशब्द: प्रतापावनत समस्त सामन्तचक्रचूडामणि प्रभामञ्जरीपुञ्ज रञ्जित चरण: परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्याते नयविनय शौर्यौदार्य सत्य त्यागादि गुणसम्पदाधारभूत: ... ... ..."

3. In the 3rd and 4th centuries, the *Birudas* run thus:—

"ओं स्वस्ति(।*) अमरपुरानुकारिण: सर्व्वर्त्तु सुखरमणीया द्विजयवत: कलिङ्गनगराधिवासकात्महेन्द्राचलामलशिखर प्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरो स्सकलभुवन निर्म्माणैक सूत्रधारस्य शशाङ्कचूडामणे भगवतो गोकर्ण स्वामिन श्चरण कमल युगल प्रणामाद्विगत

8 See *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. III, pp. 30—40.

कलिकलङ्को अनेकाहव संक्षोभ जनित जय शब्द प्रतापावनत समस्त सामन्तचक्रचूडामणि, प्रभामञ्जरीपुञ्जराञ्जित निजनिस्त्रिंश धारोपार्जित वरचरण: सितकुमुद कुन्देन्दवदात दिग्देशविनिर्गतयशोध्वस्ताराति कुलाचलो नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्य शौर्यौदार्य्य सत्य त्यागादि गुणसम्पदमाधरभूतो परममाहेश्वरा मातापितृपादानुध्यत: गङ्गामलकुलतिलको महाराज: ... ... ..."

Now let us see how the *Birudas* of Ganga kings of Hastivarma's line have developed into three different stages. The main differences that may be observed between the *Birudas* of 1st stage and 2nd stage are:—

1. The following phrases are added in the *Birudas* of second stage:—

"अमरपुरानुकारिण"

"महेन्द्राचलामलशिखर प्रतिष्ठितस्यसचराचरगुरो"

"नयविनय शौर्य्यौदार्य्य सत्य त्यागादिगुणसम्पदमाधारभूतो."

2 In the *Birudas* of the 1st stage, the phrase "स्वासिधारापरिस्पन्दाधिगत" is mentioned; whereas in the *Birudas* of the second stage it is written as: 'निजनिस्त्रिंशधारोपर्जित"

But as Indravarma, son of Danarnava of Gāngēya era 154 ruled between the first two stages, in his *Birudas* the phrase of second stage i.e.: "महेन्द्राचलशिखर प्रतिष्ठितस्य" and the phrase of first stage i. e. स्वासिधारापरिस्पन्दाधिगत" are mentioned.

Again, the main differences between the *Birudas* of second stage and third stage are mentioned below:—

(1) In the '*Birudas*' of 3rd stage from the word 'कलिकलङ्को' onward, we find a great change.

(2) The phrase "सितकुमुदकुन्देन्दवदातादिग्देश विनिर्गतयशो ध्वस्ताराति कुलाचलो" as mentioned in the '*Birudas*' of the third stage, is not found in the '*Birudas*' of first and second stages.

From the above, we can clearly trace the approximate period of any king of this line of Ganga Dynasty only by examining the *Birudas* stated in his grant. The *Birudas* mentioned in the Santa-Bomvāli C. P. Grant of Nandavarma, under review, belong to the 2nd stage. In Ganga era 304 (see the grant of Anantavarma, son of Rajēndravarma) the *Birudas* of this line already came to the 3rd stage. Hence Nandavarma must be placed in the middle part of the third period of Gāngēya era, but not in the 4th period of Gāngēya era as presumed by Mr Ramadas.

Mr. Ramadas corroborates his own assumption regarding the date of Santa Bomvāli C. P. Grant on Palæographical grounds, that the script of Anantavarma's grant of Gāngēya era 310 resemble the script of Nandavarma's grant. But according to my reading, Nandavarma's grant is about 90 years prior to the plates of Anantavarma and Devendravarma mentioned above. It is not possible for a type of characters to undergo any palæographical change in the course of 80 years, in one province.

Finally, Mr. Ramadas criticised my article on the Tirlingi C. P. Grant of Gāngēya era 28, in which the word *Vijayarājya* has been omitted in the name of era. In his article on "The Chronology of the Eastern Ganga kings of Kalinga", he says:—"Since the reign and exploits of Samudragupta belong to this period, it is probable that he might have wrested Kalinga from Sāmidatta and made it independent under a Ganga prince, who having secured the independence of Kalinga might have started an Era to commemorate it. The expression *Vijayarājya*, in naming the Kalinga era, is, therefore significant but not conventional as many have thought it to be." But the Tirlingi plate of Gāngēya era 28 might have been granted by the first Ganga king, who, according to Mr. Ramadas, might be the same Ganga prince that obtained the throne of Kalinga with the help of Samudragupta, and being grateful to the Gupta Sovereign, adopted the phrase *Vijayarājya* in his era, in order to commemorate the victory of Samudragupta. If so, the omission of the same phrase in his own charter, is really strange. This might be the reason why Mr. Ramadas anxiously wants to prove the spuriousness of the plate.

However, it can be seen that the phrase *Vijayarājya* is not connected with any victory, and apparently, is a mere conventional one because it generally appears in the regnal years of the kings of several dynasties of Southern India. For example, I mention below some ancient records of the kings of different dynasties of Southern India in which the phrase '*Vijayarājya*' is clearly inscribed:—

(1) Antaringam C.P. grant of Jayabhanja Dēva, of Bhanja dynasty: "प्रवर्धमानविजयराज्य सम्वत्सरे"

(2) The Bhuvanēśvara stone inscription of Udyotakēsari of Kēśari dynasty:— "परममाहेश्वर महाराजाधिराज सोमवंशोद्भवभूपति श्रीमद्दुद्योतकेसरी देवस्यविजयराज्ये"

(3) C. P. inscription of Mahābhavagupta of Cuttack:— "परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीजनमेजयदेवस्य विजयराज्यसम्वत्सरे"

(4) Stone inscriptions in Bhīmēśvara temple at Dāksharāma of Kulōttunga Chālukya Chōḷa of dynasty :—

"कुलोत्तुंगचोळदेवस्य प्रवर्धमान विजयराज्यसम्वत्सरे"

(5) Stone inscriptions of Vishnuvarddhana Mahārāja of Eastern Chalukya dynasty :—

"विष्णुवर्धन महाराजुल प्रवर्धमान विजयराज्य सम्वत्सरंबुलु"

(6) Kākati Rāja of Kākatīya dynasty[9] :—

प्रवर्धमानविजयराज्य शकवरुषंबुलु"

From the above records, we see that Bhanja kings, Kēśari kings, Gupta kings, Eastern Chālukya-Chōḷa kings and Kākītiya kings used the phrase "*Vijayarājya*" in naming their regnal years. Moreover, almost all the kings of modern Orissa districts use the same phrase. Therefore, it goes without saying that this phrase is merely a coventional one, and not a significant one, as referring to some particular event, as presumed by Mr. Ramadas.

He urged that the Tirlingi plate is a spurious one because :—

(1) It is full of mistakes.

(2) It is not approved by Rājasimha, a common title to Hastivarma and Indravarma.

(3) It is found at the bottom of a well, whereas not even one of the plates of Kalinga has been discovered in a well.

(4) It is a single plate, whereas all the plates, discovered from Kalinga are found strung together on an uncut ring, the two ends of which are secured in lead soldering, impressed with the royal seal.

My answers to the above arguments are :—

(1) Rājasimha, who ordered Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra to engrave the charter is probably the chief minister of Kalinga both in the reigns of Hastivarma and Indravarma. But Rājasimha, as presumed by the scholars hitherto, is not a common title to both Hastivarma and Indravarma, because this was not used by the other kings of this dynasty. The name Rājasimha is found in the plates, engraved from the 80th to the 87th years of Gāngēya era. Evidently he was not annointed to Ganga Sovereignty of Kalinga in Ganga era 28, when our Tirlingi plate was engraved. Moreover, in all the plates of Kalinga, the oral order of the king is not mentioned. Then how can it be inferred that the Tirlingi plate is a spurious one on the simple ground that no mention is made about the king's order?

(2) This plate is found at the bottom of a well. Mr. Ramadas remarks that unserviceable articles are generally thrown into wells. And hence this plate is an unserviceable document. I do not understand how Mr. Ramadas could believe that the well which was dug in the 7th

9 See *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. V. No. 216.

century A.D. (according to his calculations in the 4th century A. D.) could still exist? Again many might have known that some illiterate people who found C. P. grants made copper bangles and thus destroyed them; and others having thought that some 'mantrams' (mystic formulæ) are inscribed on the plates, broke the rings and threw them in tanks. I know that one set was thrown into a tank near Tekkali, which I tried twice to secure, but in vain. This Tirlingi plate might have been thrown into the well by one of such people.

(3) Finally he urged that it is a single plate, unusual to Kalinga. As stated above, this plate may be a missing one from a set, the ring of which, might have been broken by some one. The woman of Tirlingi who discovered this plate was going to prepare a pair of copper-bangles out of that when my friend Pandit Lingaraja Misro of Parśurāmpuram saw it and took it from her. Similarly the other plates of the set might be still lying in the muddy bottom of the well. I myself discovered a similar missing plate of a Śailōdbhava king of Orissa in Puri, and I know some missing plates of the Ganga kings of Hastivarma's line are still preserved with the Rājah Sāheb of Tekkali. Thus such single plates are not unusual to Kalinga.

As for the plate having mistakes, several other plates have mistakes, but from that it cannot be said that the plates are spurious. With regard to the mistakes he says, "the date of Tirlingi plate is "प्रवर्धमानराज्य सम्वत्सरअष्टाविति" and this ought to be "सम्वत्सरअष्टासिति" in correct Sanscrit; whereas my reading is:— "प्रवर्धमानसम्वत्सरस्य अष्टाविंशाति" I do not understand how he interprets the letter '*sya*' as '*sitya*', and overlooks the letter '*msa*' between the letters '*vi*' and '*ti*'? Mr. Ramadas' reading is clearly incorrect. The plate has been published in the previous volume of this Journal and readers can judge for themselves whether his reading is possible.

Finally Mr. Ramadas discussed the controversial point with regard to name of its donor, and urged that the name must be Indravarma but not Nandavarma as read by me. The name of the donor is mentioned clearly in two places (e.g. II–1.7 and III–1.2) of the charter as "श्रीमानन्दवर्म्मा".

The omission of one symbol '*n*' is more natural than that of two symbols '*e*' and '*r*'. In the charters of Ganga kings, it is generally seen that many letters are made single where they ought to have been doubled. Again he says that Nandavarma is not a name commonly met with in this family. I admit this, but would add that there are some other names used in this family as Hastivarma, Jayavarma, Satyavarma etc., which are also not commonly met with in this family. Thus this is also an unsound point.

# SANTABOMMALI PLATES OF INDRAVARMA.

(VIJAYA RAJYA ERA: 87.)

SRI LAKSMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEV RAJAH BAHADUR

I secured this set of copper plates in Santa-Bommali[1] from a certain farmer in 1925. These plates, three in number, are hung on a ring the ends of which, were secured in the back of a seal which contained the royal insignia of the Varman dynasty of Kalinga. On the seal is engraved the figure of a bull. The length of each of the plates is 6 $\frac{3}{5}''$ and the breadth is 2 2/5″ and the circumferance of the ring is 2 $\frac{7}{10}''$ The weight of the plates together with the ring is 52 tolas. The circumferance of the seal is 4 $\frac{4}{5}$ inches (?) The first side of the first plate and the second side of the last plate do not contain any writing. They might have been left so, in order to protect the writing inside. The characters of this grant resemble those of the grant of Hastivarma of 80th year of *vijayarājya* era. There are six lines on each side of these plates, thus making in all 24 lines. The script employed is Brāhmi characters. The grant is partly in prose and partly in poetry. Lines 1 to the middle of the 19th line are written in prose and the remaining, which contain the usual *vyāsa gītas*, are in metre. In the second half of the 23rd line the date, month and the year of the grant are given; and the 24th line contains a *slōka* in *anustup* metre which mentions the writer and the donor of the grant. This inscription supplies us a new fact, namely that Indravarma had another name, Rājasimha.

The inscription relates to the grant of a piece of land in Haribhaṭa village in the Krōsṭrukavartani *vishaya* as *dēvāgrahāra* to the deity known as Rāmēsvara Bhaṭṭāraka.[2] This grant was made in the 87th year of the *Pravardhamāna vijayarājya samvatsara*, on the *tenth* day of Jyēshṭa. The donor of the grant is Rājasimha and the name of the composer is Vinayachandra son of Bhānuchandra. The writer is said to

1 Banamalinagara is corrupted into Bommali and since shandy used to take place there the town came to be called Santa-Bommali. *Santa* in Telugu means a shandy.

2 At a distance from Santa-Bommali where the subjoined grant is found is a Siva temple of Palesvara or Phalesvar and an old rock inscription. Perhaps this deity might be the Râmësvara Bhattaraka referred to in the inscription. Vide also my article on the Rock inscription near this place where the deity is mentioned in *Sadhana* Vol. V. part 32.

be one Stapuṇoju. The order was published orally through Talavaradēva Bhōgika. Of the rulers of the *varman* dynasty known to us from other copper plate grants discovered till now, the donor of the present plates, Indravarman is the third king.

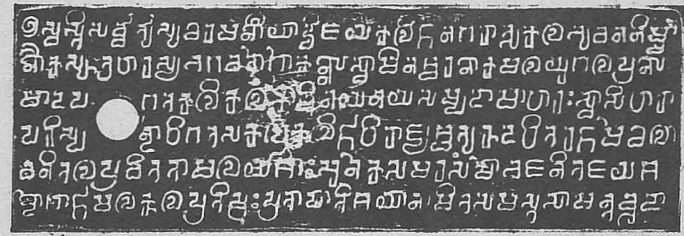
LIST OF AVAILABLE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF KINGS WHO BORE THE TITLE *VARMA*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Tirlingi Copper Plate Grant. | *Gānga Era* | 28th year. |
| 2 | Urlām Plates of Hastivarma. | ... | 80th year. |
| 3 | Tekkali Plates of Indravarma. | ... | 87th year. |
| 4 (a) | Achyutāpuram Plates of Dēvēndra-varma, son of Rajēndravarma. | ...<br>... | 91st year.<br>110th year. |
| (b) | Tekkalı Plates of the same king. | | |
| 5 (a) | Chicacole Plates of Indravarma | ... | 128th year. |
| (b) | Do Do. | ... | 138th year. |
| 6 (a) | Purlipeta Plates of Indravarma, son of Danarnava | ...<br>... | 249th year<br>154th year. |
| (b) | Tekkali Plates of the same king. | | |
| 7 (a) | Chicacole Plates of Dēvēndravarma, son of Gunārnava. | ...<br>... | 183rd year.<br>184th year. |
| (b) | Aḍava Plates of Do. | ... | 195th year. |
| (c) | Sidhāntam Plates of Do. | | |
| 8 | Talatēru Plates of Anantavarma son of Dēvēndravarma. | ... | 204th year.. |
| 9 | Tekkalı Plates of Indravarma son of Anantavarma | ... | 221st year. |
| 10 (a) | Kalinga Copper Plate Grant of Dēvēndravarma, son of Anantavarma | ...<br>... | 251st year.<br>254th year. |
| (b) | Vizagapatam Plates of the above king. | | |
| 11 | C. P. grant of Dēvēndravarma son of Rājēndravarma (1918 Ep. Rep.) | ... | 308th year. |
| 12 | Jirjangi C. P. grant of Indravarma. | ... | 309th year. |
| 13 | C. P. grant of Rājēndravarma, son of Dēvēndravarma. | ... | 342nd year. *(J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XII p. 101 pp.)* |
| 14 | Chicacole Plates of Satyavarma, son of Dēvēndravarma. *(N. B. Nos. 13 & 14 might be brothers)* | ... | 351st year. |
| 15 | Chiḍıvalasa C. P. grant of Indravarma or Vajri, Manasimha, son of Dēvēndravarma. His son Bhūpēndravarma, his son Dēvēndravarma. | ... | 397th year. |

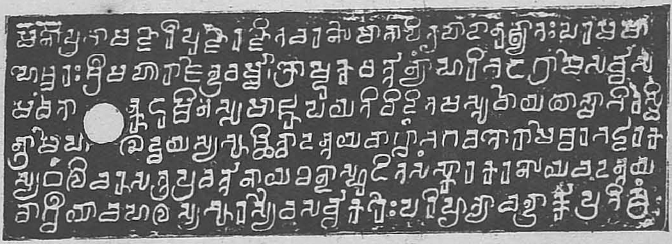
## Santa Bommali Plates of Indravarma.

To face page 23.

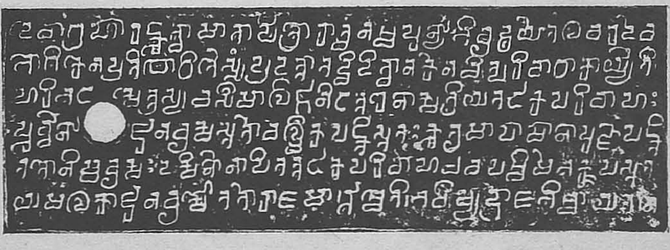
*1st Plate, 2nd side.*



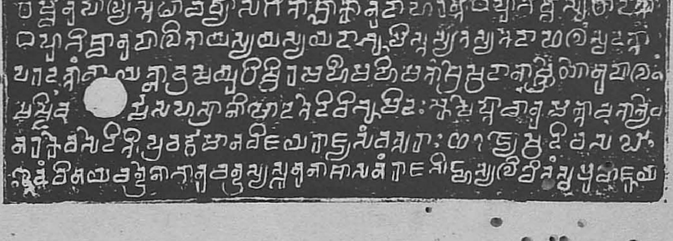
*2nd Plate, 1st side.*



*2nd Plate, 2nd side.*



*3rd Plate, 1st side.*



## TEXT *

*Second side of the first plate*

1 स्वस्ति(।*)सर्व्वर्त्तुसुखरमणयाद्विजयकलिङ्गनगरात्सकलभुवननिर्म्मा-
2 णैकसूत्रधारस्य भगवतो गोकर्ण्णो स्वामिनश्चरणकमल युगल प्रणा-
3 माद्पगत कलिकलङ्को विनय नय सम्पदामाधारः स्वासिधारा-
4 परिस्पन्दाधिगत सकलकलिङ्गाधिराज्यश्चतुरुदधितरङ्गमेखला-
5 वनीतल प्रतितामलयश : अनेकसमर संक्षोभ जनित जय श-
6 ब्दो गाङ्गामलकुलप्रतिष्ठः प्रतापातिशयानामित समस्त सामन्त चूडा-

*First side of the second plate*

7 मणि प्रभामञ्जरीपुञ्जरञ्जितचरणो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः परम मा-
8 हेश्वरः श्रीमहाराजेन्द्रवर्मा क्रोष्टुकवर्त्तन्यां हरिभटग्रामेसर्वस-
9 मवेतान्कुटुम्बिनस्समाज्ञापयति (।*) विदितमस्तुवो यथास्माभिरस्मि-
10 न्ग्रामे हलद्वयस्य भूश्चि (त्वा ) द (न्त) यवा भगवतो रामेश्वरभट्टारक-
11 स्य वलिचरुसत्रप्रवर्त्तनाय खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कार करणायच दन्तय-
12 वाग्वायीच हलस्य भूरस्यैव सर्व्वकरैः परिहृत्याचन्द्रार्कप्रतिष्ठं

*Second side of the second plate*

13 देवाग्रहारंकृत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये तलवरदेव
14 भोगिकेन प्रतिबोधितै स्सप्रदत्ता (।*) तद्विदित्वानकेनचित्परिबाधाकार्येति
15 हरिभट क्षेत्रस्य च सीमालिङ्गानि (।*) उत्तरेण क्षत्रियतटाकपरिवाहः (।*)
16 पूर्व्वेणार्जुनवृक्षस्ततो वल्मीकपंक्तिस्ततः(।*)क्षेत्रमापाषाणपुटापंक्तिः
17 ततो निम्बवृक्षः(।*)दक्षिणेनापित त्तटाकपरिवाहः(।*)[सव] पश्चिमेन कूपस्ततः
18 यमलकार्जुनवृक्षो ततो राजमार्गश्चेति (।।*) भविष्यद्राजभिश्चायम् (।।*)

*First side of the third plate*

19 धर्मेनानुपाल्य स्तथायाच व्यासगीतां श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति(।।*) बहुभिर्वसुधादत्ता
20 बहुभिश्चानुपालिता यस्य यस्ययदा भूमिस्त तस्य तदा फलम् (।।*) स्वदत्ताम्
21 परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर मही महिमतो श्रेष्ठदानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् (।।*)
22 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि मोदते दिविभूमिदः आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव
23 नरकेवसे दीति (।।*) प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सराः ८७ ज्येष्ठदिवस १०(।।*)
24 इदं विनयचन्द्रेण भानुचन्द्रस्य सूनुना (।*) शासनं रजासिङ्घस्य (।*)
लिखितं स्तपुणोजुय (।।*)

* From the original plates in my possession.

## ABSTRACT OF TRANSLATION.

He, who is the worshipper of Śri Gōkarnēśvara svāmi, the creator and supporter of this Universe, who is the source of *vinaya* (modesty), *naya* (politics), and *sampada* (wealth), whose sins of the Kali age were washed away, who, by the prowess of his own swc^r^d (arms) defeated his enemies and acquired suzerainty over them, whose glory spread through the length and the breath of the country, who won innumerable battles and who was born in the spotless Ganga family, whose feet were resplendent with the bright lusture of the precious stones contained in the crowns of vassals defeated in many a battle, and who meditates upon the feet of his parents: that Mahārājah Indravarman from Kalinga, which is a pleasant place in all seasons, issues a command to all the assembled inhabitants of the village of Haribhaṭa in the division of Krōsṭrukavartani, to the effect that two ploughshares of land in the said village, whose boundaries are given below, are given away to be enjoyed as *Deva agrahāra* to God Rāmēśvara Bhaṭṭaraka Svāmi, for offerings and prayers, festivities and other repairs for the temple, free from all taxes, and in perpetuity.

The boundaries of the land granted are:—

North:—The canal from Khatriya tank,
East:—Arjuna tree, Valmīkamāla, fields, stones, bushes and a margosa tree,
South:—The canal from Khatriya tank,
West:—Well, Jamalārjuna trees and the public road (or a highway)

## SATAVAHANAS, WERE THEY ANDHRAS?

PANDIT V. PRABHAKARA ŚASTRI.

(*Translated* from the *Telugu* by Bhavaraj V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.)

Some scholars believe that the Sātavāhanas were not Āndhras. Their main argument is that the more distinguished of the Sātavāhanas ruled over the Kuntaladēśa, i.e., the modern Mahārāshṭra and Guzerat with their capital at Paiṭhan (Pratishṭāna) as all their inscriptions go to show and not Āndhradēsa for none of their inscriptions have been discovered so far in Āndhradēśa. But the *Puranas* mention the Sātavāhanas as Andhras. As these *Puranas* do not support their view they regard the *Puranas*. as worthless records of untrustworthy legends, and therefore give them no historical value. Then we ask, is there is no evidence to establish that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras and that they ruled over Āndhradēśa?

Let us see. Of the inscriptions of the Caves of Nāsik, Kārle and other places, those relating to Vāsishṭīputra Śrī Pulumāyi are by far the most important. It is from this circumstance alone that scholars like Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, Dr. Sukhtankar, Prof. Subrahmanya Iyer and several others have advanced the theory that the Sātavāhanas were not Āndhras.[1] This is the passage in the famous inscription of Vāsishṭīputra Śrī Pulumāyi which has lent support to their view, rather formed the basis upon which their theory has been advanced: "*Rājarājñō Gotamiputasa Himavata Meru Mandara pavata samasārasa, Asika, Asaka Muḷaka, Suraṭha, Kukurāparanta, Anupa Vidabha, Akaravati, rājasa. Vijha, Chavata, Parichata, Sahya, Kaṇhagiri, Macha, Siriṭana, Malaya, Mahinda, Seṭagiri, Chakora pavata patisa*"[2] This inscription was edited successively by Bhandarkar, Bühler, Bhagavanlal Indraji, Senārt and others, several times. Many of the names of places and mountains

1 Mr. Somasekhara Sarma has in a very interesting and thoughtful article on the *Andhra Maha- Samrajyam* in the *Bharati* (Prabhava Chaitra Number) discussed the various theories ragarding the Sâtavâhanas being Andhras or not.

2 The Sanskrit Chhâya is as follows:—

"राजराजस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य हिमवन्मेरुमंदरपर्वतसमसारस्य, असिक, अश्मक, मुलक, सुराष्ट्र, कुकुरापरांतानूप विदर्भाकवरवंति राजस्य, विन्ध्यऋक्षवत पारियात्र सह्य कृष्णागिरि मञ्च श्रीस्थान मलयमहेन्द्रश्वेतगिरि चकोरपर्वतपतेः"

mentioned in this inscription have been identified by them to a large extent. But curiously enough every one of them had failed to identify Muḷaka with any known province or district of India. I think it was Dr. Bühler who suggested that Muḷaka might be a mistake for Muṇḍaka and accordingly corrected the reading. Another scholar suggested that Muḷaka becomes Muṇḍaka and quoted elaborately rules of grammar and other authorities in support of his view. And every one of these scholars that edited the inscription, in their anxiety to know the correct form of the word, lost sight of the correct identity of the province or district called Muḷaka.

I think there is something really interesting in the suggestion that Muḷaka becomes Muṇḍaka or Muṇḍuka. I shall come to it at the end. But meanwhile I think that Muḷaka country mentioned in the above inscription, is that part of the Āndhradēṣa which is still known as *Muliki nāḍu* There is evidence to show that the Āndhra country at one time, prior to its being called Vēngīdēśa, was also known as Muḷaka. The territory comprising the present districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary of the Madras Presidency and a part of the south-eastern portion of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, was at one time known as *Muliki nāḍu.* The territorial name has become somewhat obsolete to-day though it still remains in the name of a community of Andhra Brahmins, suggesting their place of origin. The capital of ancient *Mulikinâḍu* was Śrīgiri, which is situated in the centre. It is a well known fact that ancient kingdoms changed their dimensions from time to time and their capitals lost their importance in course of time and have become deserted villages. And therefore it is now difficult to determine exactly the extent of the territory called Muḷaka during the the Sātavāhana times. Space also forbids me here to enter into an elaborate discussion of that topic. There is ample evidence to show that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the Christian era, the country known as Palnāḍu in the Guntur District was called *Mulikināḍu* The following verse from *Krīḍābhirāmamu*, a Telugu *Vīdhi* of the fifteenth century bears ample testimony to this.

ఉ॥ చిత్తముఁగూర్చి మాచెరల చెన్నుఁడు శ్రీగిరిలింగముం గృపా
యత్తతఁ జూడ ముల్కి విషయంబున కామహిమంబు చెల్లెఁ గా
కుత్తరలోన మింట జలముట్టిన మాత్రన నాపరాలలో
విత్తిన యావనాళ మభివృద్ధి ఫలించుట యెట్లు చెప్పుడా!

(Because Chenna (Kêśavasvâmi) of Mâcharla (Palnâdu) and Siva (*linga*), lord of Srígiri (Kurnool District) protect the *Muliki Vishai* out of their kindness, these extraordinary things are happening: otherwise on the mere appearance of a cloud on the north how is this miracle, the growth and the harvest of mustard seedlings planted in layers of *napa* stones possible ?)

Sātavāhanas came to be overlords of 'Siriṭana' (Śrīsthāna) because Muliki nāḍu happened to be under their sway. Śrīsthāna is no other than Śrīśaila or Srīgiri. The name Siriṭana occurs in the list of the mountains and therefore there is no doubt that it is identical with Śrīśaila Hill, though some scholars still question the identification. One error has led our scholars to commit another error and this is fully justified in the present circumstance. Because they could not identify Muḷaka with the Mulikināḍu of the Andhra country, they could not also identify Siriṭana (Śrīsthāna) with Śrīgiri or Śriśaila. But one may ask the question. How could Sātavāhanas be lords of the Mountains only without being rulers of the country in which they were situated? It cannot be said that they were controlling the mountains by having access to them through the air! It is this difficulty that baffled many able scholars and prevented them from identifying Siriṭana with Śrīśaila or Śrīgiri, and led them into confusion. In one of the Nasik cave inscriptions of Vāsishṭīputra Śrī Pulumāyi, we come across a grant made to the Bhikkus of 'Dhanakaṭa'. Some scholars doubted whether Dhanakaṭa could be Dharaṇikōṭa on the Krishna river, and identified it with some place in the north, somewhere about Malwa. This is the third error into which they have fallen. The great and beautiful *Stūpa* at Amarāvati-Dharaṇikōṭa is entirely lost sight of as a Buddhist centre by them. Even till the days of Yuwān Chwāng's visit to Mahāndhra and Dhanakaṭaka, there existed a great Buddhist monastery at Dhanakaṭaka which was inhabited by Bhikkus of the Mahāyana School. And yet if those scholars did not think of Dhanakaṭaka when they found Dhanakaṭa in the inscriptions, then it must be said that their oversight was due to their not having recognised the Sātavāhana rule over Āndhradesa.

The Myākadoni and the Harpanahalli inscriptions of Śivaskandavarma mention 'Sātavāhana hara' and 'Sātavahāna raṭha' as names of a certain province. All scholars agree that the names apply to that part of the country where the inscriptions were found. One of the names of villages mentioned in the grants is 'Chillarekakcḍunka'. In the Telugu country, there are many brahmins belonging to the *advaita* (Madhwa) school, of the village name of 'Chillarige'. We do not know of any village of the name of 'Chillarige' in Bellary district, and therefore I am inclined to hold that Chillareka might be Chillarige. If therefore, Bellary district formed part of Sātavāhanaraṭha, it is not improper to assume that the Sātavāhanas were Andhras. But, it has been suggested against this, that since these inscriptions belonged roughly to the third century of the Christian era, it cannot be said that the Sātavāhanas were ruling there at that time. This objection is, indeed, absurd. When Śivaskandavarma ruled the country Sātavāhanaraṭha, it would be his territory for he made grants in that province even though it had the name Sātavāhanaraṭha, and it cannot be assumed for a minute that the name meant the territory governed by the Sātavāha

nas. King Śivaskandavarma mentioned the name Sātavāhana ratha because it was an ancient and traditional name for that part of the country for a very long time prior to his rule. That was not the name given to the country at the time of making of the grant, or during his reign. There is yet another thing. When there were several provinces under the sway of the Sātavāhanas, why then should this particular district alone be called after them, as Sātavāhanaraṭha or Sātavāhana hara? Does not this fact alone lead us to the irresistable conclusion that Sātavāhanas originally belonged to this district and that in course of time they lent their name to the district from which they migrated? From the inscriptions of Śivaskandavarma, it may assumed that the Sātavāhanas, in the early days of their expansion of their Empire, ruled over Muḷaka or a part of that province comprising the present district of Bellary and that tract of the country came to be called Sātavāhana raṭha or Sātavāhana hara. Scholars have again erred here. Originally the Sātavāhanas might be vassals of the Ikhākus (Ikshvākus) of Vēngi country and that might be the reason why the Sātavāhanas were referred to as Āndhra bhṛtyas or servants of the Andhras, in some Purāṇas. These Āndhrabhṛtyas became powerful and independent in course of time, and after the fall of the Ikhākus (Andhras) they extended their power and influence over the whole of the western Dekkan including the Karnāṭa country. The Sātavāhana kings were known as Śatakarnis also and they might have lent their name as Karni-nāḍu (the land of the Karni kings) to the province over which they ruled in the beginning, which became distorted into Karnāṭa and Kannaḍa in course of time In a stone pillar inscription in the Śiva temple in Sthānakundūra in Talkonda district in Mysore, the *archaka* calls himself a worshipper of the *linga* which was at one time worshipped by the king Śatakarni. All these facts go to establish that the Sātavāhanas or Śatakarnis gradually rose to power, till they held sway over the Karnāṭa country and gradually extended the borders of their empire into Mahārāshṭra and Guzerat (Ghūrjara) and the entire portion of the middle and western Dekhan known as Kuntaladēśa and finally selected as their capital a convenient place on the river Gōdāvari and called it Paiṭhan (Pratishṭāna), which meant the newly established 'city'. I believe for this reason that Pratisṭhana (Paiṭhan) was originally built by the Sātavāhanas. The *Jātaka* stories, the *Padma, Kūrma Linga,* and *Bhavishya* Puranas, the *Uttara-kānda of* the *Rāmārana* Kathāsaritsāgara, the Mahābhārata, and lastly Kalidasa's *Vikramōrvasī*, all these mention Pratisṭhāna as a glorious city. The name Pratishṭhana itself is clearly suggestive of the fact that it was a newly built city, of the Sātavāhanas who were the Āndhrabhṛtyas and therefore themselves Andhras. When the Sātavāhanas were ruling at Pratishṭāna, the Śakas invaded their empire and wrested from them a portion of their northern dominions, which necessitated the shifting of their capital from Pratishṭhana on the Gōdāvari to Dhanakaṭaka or Dharaṇikōṭa or

Krishna, which was till then a provincial town or capital like Vaijayanti on the extreme south west. By that time, the Ikhākus might have sunk into a subordinate position and become weak. These Ikhakus were originally followers of the *Vēdic Brahminism* having performed several *kratus* and *yāgās*, and their erstwhile subordinates the Sātavāhanas, too, were likewise followers of the Vedic Brahminical religion. And like the Ikhākūs, the Sātavāhanas tolerated and even protected other religions like the Buddhism and the Jainism. They made liberal grants to the Jain Bastis and Budhist monasteries, protected their stupas and now and then even built new stupas. The whole country lying between the two mighty rivers of the Dekhan, the Krishna and the Godavari, stretching from the shores of the Arabian Sea on the west to the coast of the Bay of Bengal on the east, came under their rule. *The Gātha Sapta Śati of* King Hala Sātavāhana contains many references and descriptions relating to the Andhra country proper.

In one of the *Gathas* of Hala's *Sapta śati*, it is said that there was no royal house equal in prowess and nobility to that of the Sātavāhanas in all the country wherein the Godavari rises, flows and falls into the Sea. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A., brings to light a new Prakrit work of an unknown poet, called '*Līlāvati pariṇiya*'[3] in the pages of the Telugu montly *Bhārati*, of Madras. This work describes the marriage of king Hala with princess Līlāvati, daughter of the lord of Sṛingala *dvīpa*. in the shrine of *Nagna (Pâsupata) Bhīma* on the sacred banks of the *Sapta Gōdāvaram*.[4] Sapta Gōdāvaram is no other than the

3 *Bharati*. Vol. III Part I. pp. 3 ff.

4

| *Prakrit* | *Sanskrit Chchaya* |
|---|---|
| तंसत्तमुहाविहतं | तं सप्तमुखाविहस्तां |
| बुनिवहानिद्धो अकलिमलुप्पंकं। | बुनिवहनिर्धूत कलिमलोत्पंकम्। |
| कहकह विदेव सुईरे | कथं कथमापिदेव सुचिरेण |
| णसत्त गोदावरी भीमं॥ V. 190. | सप्तगोदावरी भीमं॥ |
| इयतस्सकण अदेवा | इततस्य कनकदेवा |
| लयस्सदाहिण दिसइ अणुलग्गं | लयस्य दक्षिणादिश्यनुलग्नम् |
| गोलाणइवयणाविसे | गोदावरीनदीवदनाविशे |
| सअंवरम्मं मठायअणं॥ V. 242. | षकमिव रम्यंमठायतनम्॥ |
| एवं भणिओसोते | एवं भणितसः सते |
| णरनव ई अगणिएहि दियहेहि। | नरपतिरगणितौ दिवसैः। |
| संपत्तोकमलदल | संप्राप्तः कमलदलाक्षि |
| च्चित्तसत्तगोदावरी भीम॥ V. 1117, | सप्तगोदावरी भीमम्॥ |

modern village of Dākshārāma, Ramachandrapur Taluk, in the East Godavari district, where stands to this day the magnificient Eastern Chālukya temple of Bhīmeśvara and a holy tank (now a small pond, but at one time a huge one into which the waters from the seven streams of the Godavari flowed) called *Sapta Gōdāvari.* On the Amarāvati *stūpa*, there is an inscription of Gōtamiputra Śrī Sātakarni and quite recently his statue also has been found in the Amarāvati collections in the Madras Musuem. Another inscription of Yajña Śrī Sātakarni recording a grant to a Buddhist monastery in the eighteenth year of his victorious reign, was found in a place adjacent to the mouths of the Krishna river. I think the Vishnu deity known as *Āndhra Vallabha*, or *Āndhra Nāyaka* or *Āndhra Vishṇu* and *Śrī Vallabha* and *Śrī Kākolani nātha* at Srīkākulam on the Krishna river might be the deity called after one of the famous Sātavāhana princes. '*Sirika Kolanu*' appears to have been the original name of the village now called *Śrīkākulam.* The Andhra word 'kolanu' became *koḷa* when the place became a place of Vaishnavite importance and pilgrimage. The '*Stahlamahātmya*' records that at some remote past, there existed a huge tank near the shrine or the village, from which the village acquired its name. But the word '*Sirika*' appears to be Andhra Prākṛt *vikṛti* of the Sanskrit name, *Śrimukhha.* And then in the inscriptions of Vāsishṭiputra Śrī Pulumāyi, Sātavāhanas were mentioned as *Brahmanas* The *Śrīkākula Sthalamahātmya* also states that the *Āndhra nāyakasvāmi* (Vishṇu) was born as a *Brahman* in the house of Nāgadēva Bhaṭṭāraka and married a brahmin girl. This story might relate Śrīmukha Satakarni, one of the earliest of the Sātavāhana kings. It is said in one of the Buddhist *Jataka* stories, that the Andhra kings originally ruled over the country near the Telivāha river. The story of Lilavati's marriage shows that by the time of Hāla Sātavāhana, the Gōdavari river had branched off before it fell into the sea. I think the Telivāha river mentioned in the Budhist *Jataka* stories might be the *Tulyabhāga* river, one of the seven branches of the Gōdavari. In the erotic poetry of Sanskrit and other *dēśi* languages, Andhra women are praised for their extraordinarily proportionate features of their body. And this fact finds ample proof in the marvellous sculptures of the Amarāvati *stupa.* That Andhra ladies did not wear any bodice or any such garment to cover their breasts, before or during the long period of construction of that edifice, the Amarāvati *stupa*, is amply borne out by its beautiful sculptures of Andhra feminine beauty. The ancient Andhra women copied their fashions from Paiṭhān (Pratishṭhāna), from the Mahārāshtra and the Ghūrjara (Guzerati) women, when they went there, and thus they began to wear a bodice which is called in Andhra language '*ravika*', and covered their bosom with a portion of their garment called "*Payiṭa*". *Payita* is only a *tadbhava* of the name

Paiṭhān or Pratishṭhāna. This only denotes that the name of the *Nagara* Paiṭhan lent its name to the bosom-covering cloth of the Andhra ladies! Even the bodice *ravika* has retained its Paiṭhan influence for it is called to this day *Paithini ravika'* or *Paithâni ravika*. The Sanskrit word '*kanchuka*' was not used evidently to denote the new fashion in the Andhra ladies' costume for it happened to be an article of dress common both to the gentlemen and ladies. Further it appears to have been used as a synonym for the Ghurjara womans' veil over her face in the *Gâthâ Sapta Sati*. In those days the Āndhra, Drāvira and Maḷayaḷa women wore no bodices, and only the Andhra and the Karnāṭaka women, after they came in contact with Paiṭhan began to wear bodices, and cover their bosom with a *payita*. Still in the *Drāviḍa* and the *Maḷayāḷa* countries, women do not wear bodices (*ravika*) to this day. And even to this day men and women in Malabar, Travancore and Cochin wear alike a smal upper cloth (*uttarīya*) to cover the upper part of their bodies. and curiously enough their women do not wear any bodices (*ravika*) at all. After the fall of the Sātavāhanas, the Andhras lost all touch with Paiṭhān and that erstwhile fashionable city and capital of the Sātavāhana kings dwindled itself into a small village and became almost forgotten in course of time. *Paithīṇī-ravika* and *payita*, thus became fashion for the Andhra women ever since they came into contact with the Sātavāhana capital in the west when it was in its hey-day of glory, magnificience and luxury. That Paiṭhan had close contact with the Andhra country, stretching as far as the shores of Bay of Bengal and the mouths of the Godavari and the Krishna, is clearly established by the fact of the exclusive use of the words *Paithâṇi-ravika* and *Payita* in the Andhra language even to this day. The Sātavāhana inscriptions mention the Sātavāhanas as having ruled over the whole of the Andhra country, i. e. Muḷaka dēśa. The *Puraṇas* clearly state that the Sātavāhana were Andhras. No other part of India except the country lying between the rivers Gōdavari and the Krishna, as far as the sea on the east, i.e. practically the whole of the central and the eastern Dekhan, retains the name Andhra and no other province or people had ever claimed to be Andhra or Andhras during the last two thousand years. It is therefore certainly a matter of pride and joy to know that their ancestors conquered other lands and peoples and carved a great empire and handed down a great heritage to them. The original home of the Sātavāhanas might be Muḷaka (Southern Andhra) or Sāṭavahana raṭṭha, in the Muḷakadēśa. In the face of these facts it is ridiculous to contend that the Sātavāhanas were not Andhras and that they did not rule over the Andhra country. Pandit Bhagavanla

Indraji thought that *Muḷakas* might be the people mentioned as *Muṇḍakas* in the *Vishṇupurāna.* This might be so. In my article on the *Ikshvakus* in the pages of *Bhārati (Prabhava: Pushya* Number*)* I stated that the Andhras were also called Munḍiyas in the *Dharmamṛta kathao.*[5] Mundiyu and Mundaka might mean the same thing and the Munḍiyus mentioned in the *Dharmamritakatha* might be identical with the Munḍakas referred to in the *Vishnupurana.*

All the evidence discussed above, I think, is sufficient to answer their charge that the Sātavāhanas were not Andhras and refute their arguments. In the story of the Līlāvati referred to above, Sidha Nāgārjuna is said to be the minister of king Hala Sātavāhana.[6] The *Sidha Nagarjunakonda* in the Guntur district and the various ancient monuments consisting of Buddhist stūpas and other monastery-halls point out that Nāgārjuna was an Andhra. Besides, there are many more things in the *Gāthā Sapta Sati* that would clearly illustrate the fact that the Sātavāhanas were Andhras. I shall deal with them in a separate paper.

5 There is a *sloka* in *praise of* Buddha dêva which is quoted in the *Kavindra vachana samuchchaya,* which is said to have been composed by one *Sangha Sri.* I think this Sangha Sri might be same person mentioned on the *Dharmamrita katha* brought to light recently by the Mysore Archaeoilogical Department (1927). In this *sloka,* Sangha Sri's family is called 'Mundiya'. Sangha Sri is the father-in-law of the Ikshvâku being Dhanada of Bhattiprôlu, lord of Vêngidêsa.

6

| | |
|---|---|
| भट्टुमन्नंतोतं च्चि अ | भट्टुमन्यतस्तमेव |
| मरणंसंतोसदिन्ननियहि अ ओ । | मरणं सतोषदत्तनिजहृदये । |
| नायज्जुणोवरोहे | नागार्जुनोपरोधेन |
| णनिग्गओनियपुराहिंतो ॥ V. 1018. | निर्गतोनिजपुराभिमुखः ॥ |
| नायज्जुणभिकुपुर | नागार्जुनभिक्षुपुर |
| स्सरेणसरितीरसंठिओराया । | स्सरेणसरित्तिरसंस्थितोराजा । |
| विजयाणंदेणसमं | विजयानं देवसमं |
| विवराहुत्तं परिक्कंतो ॥ V. 1019. | विवशभिमुखं परिक्रांतः ॥ |

# JUDICIAL PROCEDURE IN ANCIENT INDIA.

## II. TRIAL BY ORDEAL.

J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L.

*Ordeal (divyam) defined.*

*Nine kinds.*

*Five major and four minor ones.*

Trial by Ordeal is recognized by the Hindu Law as a special procedure to be resorted to under special circumstances. It is called *divyam* because the Gods (*devās*) are said to resort to it when they are in doubt in important matters.[1] It is of nine kinds, viz. ordeal by scales (*dhaṭa*), by fire (*agni*) by water (*jala*), by poison (*visha*), water in which Gods are bathed (*kōs'a*), by rice (*tanḍula*), by boiled black gram (*tapta māshaka*), by the ploughshare (*phālam*)[2] and by justice (*dharmajam*). Of these, the first five are major ordeals and the other four are minor ordeals, recognized only by some lawgivers. Before describing these ordeals in detail, it is desirable to refer to certain general considerations applicable to all ordeals.

*Ordeal, an extraordinary procedure.*

*Disposal of cases by Sapatha (Swearing)*

In the first place, ordeal should be resorted to only in cases in wich the ordinary method of trial is not feasible. In the opinion of Nārada, ordeal is to be preferred to a regular enquiry, because the former is based on infallible truths while the latter depends on evidence which is fallible.[3] Neverthless the accepted rule is that, trial by evidence is the ordinary procedure and trial by ordeal is an extraordinary procedure.[4] Ordeal should be adopted only in important cases (*pushkarārdha*), the smaller cases (*alpāradha*) being disposed of by swearing (*Śapatha*). Swearing may be by truth, by a riding-horse, by weapons, by a bow, by seeds of grain, by gold, by the feet of brahmins, by the gods or by the heads of one's own wife or children.[5]

1. యస్మాద్దేవైః ప్రయుక్తాని పుష్కరార్థే మహాత్మభిః — *Sankha.*
2. ధటోగ్నిరుదకంచైవవిషంకోశశ్చపంచమం । షష్ఠశ్చతండులః ప్రోక్తః సప్తమం
   తప్తమాషకం । అష్టమంఫాల మిత్యుక్తం నవమంధర్మజంతథా॥ — *Brihaspati.*
3. తత్రసత్యేస్థితో ధర్మో వ్యవహారస్తు సాక్షిణి ।
   దైవసాధ్యే పౌరుషేయాం నలేఖ్యం వా ప్రయోజయేత్॥
4. ప్రమాణహీనేవాదేతు కర్తవ్యా దైవిక్రియా. — *Brihaspati.*
5. సత్యవాహన శస్త్రాణి గోబీజకనకానిచ ।
   దేవబ్రాహ్మణ పాదాశ్చ పుత్రదారశిరాంశిచ॥ — *Brihaspati.*

A Brahmin should be sworn by truth, a Kshatriya by the riding horse or weapons, a Vaisya by cows, gold or seeds of grain and a Sudra by the terrors of all sins.[6] Swearing by truth means expatiating on the virtues of truth-speaking and pointing out the evils of lying. As the best cultured class in society, Brahmins seem to have been considered capable of appreciating the virtues of truth-speaking more than others and hence fit to be sworn in the manner. Applying this method of reasoning, the appropriateness of swearing a Kshatriya (sold er) by the riding-horse and fighting weapons, and a Vaisya (trader and cultivator) by gold, cows and seeds is obvious. The lowest stratum of society is to be sworn by holding forth the terrors of hell which will be the portion of those who speak untruth.

As a rule, an ordeal should be ordered only when the complainant undertakes to abide by its result which involves punishments for making a false complaint if the result of the ordeal should go against him.[7] Exceptions to this rule are cases of offences against the states and offences involving moral turpitude.[8]

The general rule is that only the accused person should be required to undergo an ordeal, but by consent of parties, a complainant may undergo it, provided the accused undertakes to abide by its result.

Restrictions in the use of the different kinds of ordeals.

There are restrictions in regard to the applications of the different kinds of ordeals. The principle underlying them is that in order that an ordeal may produce its proper result, the person who is to undergo it, should possess a normal degree of physical health and of moral sense and that any deficiency in either of these respects, vitiates the result of the ordeal to that extent. These regulations are designed to remove the causes of error as far as possible. The presence of an adequate ethical sense causes a *sine qua non* to all kinds of ordeals and it is, therefore provided that the following classes of persons are ineligible for ordeals, viz., persons addicted to do violence to those who are entitled to their reverence, such as parents, teachers and brahmins, and to persons

6. సత్యేన శాపయే ద్విప్రం క్షత్రియం వాహనాయుధైః ।
గోబీజకాంచనైర్వైశ్యం శూద్రం సర్వైస్తు పాతకైః ॥ *Pitamaha.*

7. అభియోక్తా శిరస్థానే దివ్యేషు పరికల్పితః। అభియుక్తాయ దాతవ్యం శ్రుతినిదర్శనాత్ ।
శిరోవర్తియదా నస్యాత్తదాదివ్యం సదాయతే *Narada.*

8. వినాపి శీర్షకాత్కుర్యాన్నృపద్రోహేఽథ పాతకే ॥ *Yajnavalkya.*

9. నకశ్చిదభియోక్తారం దివ్యేషు వినియోజయేత్ । అభియుక్తాయ దాతవ్యం దివ్యం దివ్యవిశారదైః ॥ రుచ్యావాన్యతరః కుర్యాదితరో వర్తయేచ్ఛిరః ॥ అభియోక్తా శిరస్థానే దివ్యేషు పరికల్పితః । *Yajnavalkya.* ఇచ్ఛయాన్యతరః కుర్యాదితరో వర్తయేచ్ఛిరః ॥ *Narada*

who are entitled to protection from these viz. children, old people and women, persons who are guilty of heinous sins (*mahāpātakas*), atheists wicked persons generally, persons of mixed parentage and generally all persons addicted to sinning.[10] But these people may nominate eligible persons to undergo the ordeal on their behalf and, if they do so, they will, of course, be bound by the result of the ordeal.[11] As regards physical capacity, different kinds of ordeal require different degrees of health and it is, therefore, provided that the more arduous ordeals should not be administered to persons who are not strong enough to undergo them. It is ordained, for instance, that eunuchs, invalids, blind persons, children, old people and women should only be tried by weighment, Neither water nor poison should be administered to women and either of these or fire to old people and invalids. Ordeal by rice should not be applied to persons suffering from diseases of the mouth, and lepers should not be tried by fire nor consumptives and asthmatic people by water. Similarly ordeal by poisons should not be resorted to in the case of persons suffering from bilious or phlegmatic humours. Ordeal by fire is unsuited to metalsmiths, ordeal by water to persons accustomed to move in water (such as fisher-men) and ordeal by poison to persons versed in spells (*mantrayōga*).[12] The reason for the restriction in the last three cases is obvious. By reason of their professions smiths are accustomed daily to handle fire and fisher-men to move about in water and they can, therefore, endure ordeal by those elements more than a normal person, and this vitiates the result of the ordeal. The prohibition of ordeal by poison in the case of persons versed in spells is evidently due to the belief that those persons can, by their spells, counteract the actions of the poison.

Ordeal according to caste.

Harita says that a Brahmin should be tried by weighment, a Kshatriya by fire and a Vaisya by water, in preference to other ordeals, and that poison should not be administered to a Brahmin;[13] but this injunction is not regarded as absolutely binding.

10. మాతాపితృద్విజ గురువృద్ధ స్త్రీబాల ఘాతినాం । మహాపాతకయుక్తానాం నాస్తికానాం విశేషతః॥ లింగినాం ప్రశఠానాంతు మంత్రయోగ క్రియావిదాం । వర్ణసంకర జాతానాం పాపాభ్యాస ప్రవర్తినాం॥ ఏతేషుచాభియోగేషు నింద్యేష్వేవతు యత్నతః । దివ్యం ప్రకల్పయేన్నైవ రాజాధర్మపరాయణః. *Katyayana.*

11. ఏతైరేవ నియుక్తానాం సాధూనాం దివ్యమర్హతి॥ *Katyayana*

12. న లోహశిల్పినామగ్నిం సలిలంనాంబు సేవినాం । మంత్రయోగ విదాంచైవవిషం దద్యాచ్చక్వచిత్॥ తండులైర్ననియుంజీత వ్రణినం ముఖరోగిణం॥ *Katyayana.*
కుష్టినాం వర్జయేదగ్నిం సలిలం శ్వాసకాసినాం। పిత్తశ్లేష్మవతాం నిత్యంవిషంతుపరివర్జయేత్

13. రాజన్యేగ్ని ఘటం విప్రే వైశ్యేతోయం నియోజయేత్॥ *(Pitamaha*

Brihaspati attaches a money value to each kind of ordeal. According to him, poison should be administered in cases in which the claim involved is worth a thousand (cions), fire in cases in which the claim is worth seven hundred and fifty coins and water in cases in which the claim is worth two thirds of a thousand (coins). *Dhaṭa* should be applied in cases worth five hundred coins, dried black gram in cases worth four hundred coins, rice in cases worth three hundred coins, *kōs'a* in cases worth one hundred and fifty and ordeal by *dharma* should be applied in cases worth one hundred coins only.[14] Vishṇu's values are some what different from these.

Money valuation of the different kinds of ordeals.

The following rules regulating the seasons during which the several kinds of ordeals should be applied are, it will be seen, designed to prevent the result of the ordeal from being prejudiced one way or the other by abnormal atmospheric conditions. Weighment may be applied in all seasons, provided it is not exposed to winds. The months of *Chaitra* (April), *Vaiśākha* (May) and *Mārgaśira* (December) are normal months for all ordeals. Ordeal by fire should be applied in *Hēmanta* and *Śis'ira ṛtus* (December to March) and also during the rainy season but never in the hot weather. Ordeal by water should be applied in the hot weather and also in the *Śarat* ṛtu (October and November) but never in the cold weather. Poison may be administered in *Hēmantha* and *Śis'ira* ṛtus but not in the rainy season.[15]

Appropriate seasons for the ordeals

The appropriate time of the day for each ordeal is as follows. Ordeal by weighment, fire and *kōs'a* should be applied in the forenoon, ordeal by water at midday and ordeal by poison in the last watch (*yāma*) of the night.[16]

సర్వేషుసర్వదివ్య వావిషవర్జంద్విజోత్తమే। నవిష్టంబ్రాహ్మణేదద్యాద్విషంవర్ణాంతరేస్వ్రత్తం||

14. విషం సహస్రే వహ్యృతే పాదోనేచహుతాశనః । త్రిభాగోనేచసలిల మర్ధేదేయో ధటస్సదా|| చతుశ్శతాభియోగేషు దాతవ్యస్తప్తమాషకః । త్రిశతేతండు లాదేయా కోశశ్చైవశతదర్ధకే । శతేహృతే పహ్నుతే చదాతవ్యం ధర్మశోధనం||

15. చైత్రోమార్గశి రాశ్చైవవైశాఖ శ్చతథైవచ । ఏతేసాధారణా మాసాదివ్యానామ విరోధినీ|| ధటస్సర్వర్తుకః ప్రోక్తో వాతేవాతి విసర్జయేత్|| అగ్నిశ్శిశిర హేమంతే వర్షాస్వపిచ దాపయేత్ । గ్రీష్మేసలిల మిత్యుక్తం హిమకాలేతువర్జయేత్ *Pitamaha.*

అగ్నిశ్శిశిర హేమంతే వర్షాసుపరికీర్తితః । శరద్గ్రీష్మేతు సలిలం హేమంతే శిశిరేవిషం||
నశీతేతోయ శుద్ధిస్స్యాన్నోష్ణకాలేగ్ని శోధనం ।
నప్రావృషివిషం దద్యాత్ప్రవాతేన తులాంనృపః|| *Narada.*

16. పూర్వాహ్ణేగ్నిపరీక్షా స్యాత్పూర్వాహ్ణేచ ధటోభవేత్ । మధ్యాహ్నేతుజలం దేయం ధర్మతత్త్వమభీప్సతా । దివసస్యతు పూర్వాహ్ణే కోశశుద్ధిర్విధీయతే ।
రాత్రౌతుపశ్చిమేయామే విషందేయం సశీతలం|| *Pitamaha.*

Ordeals may be held in court, in front of the king's palace, in a temple or in the public market[17]. Persons accused of hienous crimes (*mahāpātakas*) should undergo ordeal in a temple, those accused of treason, in front of the king's palace and persons born of parents of unequal castes, the mother's caste being higher than the father's (*prātilomyaprasūta*) should be tried in the public market. All the rest should be tried in court.[18]

Places where ordeal should be held.

The presiding Judge of the Court (*prādvivāka*) should conduct the ordeal first as the chief priest (*adhvarya*) conducts a sacrifice (*adhvara*). He should fast on the day previous to the ordeal. He should sit with folded hands facing the east and invoke the presence of justice (*dharma*) saying "O thou adored Dharma ! Come and abide in this ordeal, accompanied by the guardians of the different points of the compass (*lōkapālas*) and by the Vasus, Ādityas and Maruths.[19] He must also invoke the presence of all the important gods and goddesses and assign a definite place to each of them round the place of ordeal. He should then worship them in the approved manner and then get *hōma* performed by Brahmins versed in Vēdas. The person under trial should fast three days if he is able bodied or for one day if he is not, previous to the day of the ordeal. At the time of the ordeal, he should bathe and wear a wet loin cloth. The presiding officer should then place on his hand a leaf (*patra*) containing the mantra

Ceremonial

ఆదిత్యచంద్రావనిలో నలశ్చద్యౌర్భూమిరాపోహృదయం యమశ్చ॥
అహశ్చరాత్రిశ్చఉభేచసంధ్యేధర్మశ్చజానాతి నరస్యవృత్తం॥, which means, "The Sun, the Moon, the air, the fire, the sky, the earth, the water, Yama, the day, the night, the two twilights, the mind and justice know the doings of man."

What has been said above is common more or less to all ordeals. We shall now see how each ordeal is to be conducted. The first is ordeal by balance.

17. సభారాజకులద్వార దేవాయతన చత్వర॥ *Narada*

18. ఇంద్రస్థానేభి శస్తానాం మహిపాతపినాంనృణాం।
నృపద్రోహి ప్రవృత్తానాం రాజద్వారే ప్రయోజయేత్।
ప్రాతిలోమ్య ప్రసూతానాం దివ్యం దేయం చతష్పథే।
అతోద్యేషు తుకార్యేషు సభామధ్యే విదుర్బుధః॥ *Katyayana*

19. ఏహ్యేహిభగవన్ ధర్మఅస్మిన్దివ్యేసమావిశ।
సహితోలోకపాలైశ్చవస్వాదిత్యమరుద్గణైః

The weighing balance should be erected in a hall or room (*Śāla*) which should be spacious, high and clean. It should be provided with a door and key and guarded by peons, so that neither dogs nor crows nor *chandālas* may enter it. The beam of the balance should be square-sided and four cubits (*hasta*) long and should be mounted on two legs which should be of the same length above ground and one cubit or a cubit and half apart. Both these should be made of the heart wood of the *Khadira* tree (*Acasia Catechu*) free from knots. In the absence of *Khadira*, *Simsupa* (Dalbergid Sisu Rob.), Sāla (*Vatica Robusta*), *Arjuna*(*Terminalia Arjuna*), *Tilaka*, Tiniśa (*Dalbergia Oujeivensis*) *Asoka* (*Jouesid asoka Rob*) or Red Sandal (*Petro carpus santottnus*) wood may be used. The beam should be provided with three iron rings, one in the centre and two attached to iron legs one at each end; and it should be straight and strong. The legs or posts of the balance should be altogether six cubits long and should be planted two cubits deep in the ground. Two scales or pans (*sikya*) should be suspended one at each end of the beam. The accused must be placed in the northern scale and equal weight of stones or earth in the southern scale. Men accustomed to weighing such as tradesmen, goldsmiths or bell metal smiths should be appointed to judge the weighment. The judges must satisfy themselves that the scales (after loading) are evenly balanced and this may be done by pouring a small quantity of water in the centre of the top of the beam. If the water does not swerve to either side the balance is even.[20] Testing levels by water is the precursor of the modern method of testing by spirit. After balancing, the accused must be asked to get out of the scale and the balance must be worshipped in the prescribed manner. Thereafter the *prādvivāka* must address the balance thus:"O, Balance! Thou hast been created by Brahma to judge the wicked. Thou knowest what men do not know. This man stands accused and is to be weighed in thee. Thou must judge him by righteousness and free[21] him from this suspicion. The accused should, in his turn, address the balance thus:

*Dhata Vidhi*

"O, Balance! Thou art the abode of truth, created by gods Therefore, O blessed one, proclaim the truth and free me from this sus-

20. కార్యః పరీక్షకైర్నిత్య మవలంబస మోధటః।
ఉదకంచ ప్రదాతవ్యం ధటస్యోపరిపండితైః।
యస్మిన్నప్లవతే తోయం సవిజ్ఞేయస్స మోధటః॥

21. త్వంధట బ్రహ్మణాస్సృష్టః పరీక్షార్థం దురాత్మనాం॥
త్వమేవధట జానీషే నవిదుర్యానిమానవాః।
వ్యవహారాభి శస్తోయం మానుషస్తోల్యతే త్వయి।
తదేనం సంశయాత్తస్మాద్ధర్మ తస్త్రాతుమర్హసి॥

picion. If I am guilty, O mother pull me down, but if I am innocent pull me up"[22]. After this, *prādvivāka* should swear the man who is to handle the balance (*tulā dhar*) by saying "May the fate of Brahminicides and false witnesses be also the fate of those who weigh falsely"[23]. The accused must then get back into the scale and the *prādvivāka* must repeat his address to the gods and the balance. The final weighment is thus made. The regulation period of this weighment is five *Vinadis* or the period occupied in pronouncing three hundred long syllables. A Brahmin versed in Astronomy should be appointed to observe time and other Brahmins who are wise, pure and non-avaricious should be appointed as witnesses[24].

Result. If the pan in which the accused sits rises up, the accused is innocent. If it goes down or even with the other pan the accused is guilty[25].

*Agni Vidhi*

A row of eight circles should be formed on the ground with cow-dung. The circles should be sixteen inches in diametre and should be placed at intervals of sixteen inches from one another. A 9th circle which may be of any dimension should be formed in front of row. The eight circles are believed to be presided over by Agni, Varuna, Vāyu, Yama, Indra, Kubēra, Sōma and Savita in the order mentioned and the ninth circle by all gods. South of the first circle, fire should be kindled by making *hōma* in the prescribed manner and in that fire a ball of iron should be heated. The ball should be fifty *palams* in weight and it should be perfectly smooth and round. The heating should be done by a metal smith (*lōhakāra*) thrice. It should first be heated until it becomes red and then immersed in water. It should be heated a

22. త్వంతులే సత్యధామాసి పురాదేవైర్వినిర్మితా।
తత్సత్యం వదకళ్యాణి సంశయాన్మాం విమోచయ।
యద్యస్మి పాపకృన్మాతః తతోమాంత్వ మధోనయ।
శుద్ధశ్చేద్గమయోర్ధ్వం మాంతులేత్యభి మంత్రయేత్॥ *Yajnavalkya.*

23. బ్రహ్మఘ్నే యేకృతాలోకాః యేలోకాః కూటసాక్షిణః।
తులాధారస్యతే లోకాస్తులాంధారయతో మృషా॥ *Vishnu.*

24. జ్యోతిర్విద్బ్రాహ్మణశ్రేష్ఠః కుర్యాత్కాల పరీక్షణం।
వినాడ్యః పంచవిజ్ఞేయాః పరీక్షాకాలకోవిదైః॥
సాక్షిణోబ్రాహ్మణశ్రేష్ఠాయథాదృష్టావాదినః। జ్ఞానినశ్శుచయోఽలుబ్ధానియోక్తవ్యానృపేణతు॥
దశగుర్వక్షరః ప్రాణః షట్ప్రాణాస్స్యా ద్వినాడికా॥

25. తులితో యదివర్ధేత స శుద్ధస్స్యాన్న సంశయః।
సమోవాహీయమానోవాన విశుద్ధోభవేన్నరః॥ *Narada.*
అథోగతో నవైశుధ్యేచ్ఛుద్ధ్యే దూర్ధ్వగతి స్తథా।
సమోపిన విశుద్ధస్స్యా దేపాశుద్ధి రుదాహృతా॥ *Vyasa.*

second time and immersed again in water. This should be done for the purpose of removing unevenness on the surface of the ball. After the immersion, the ball should be heated again until it becomes quite red when it becomes fit for use. While the ball is being heated, the hands of the accused should be carefully examined to see whether there are any boils, cuts or abrasions on them. The man should be made to crush and grind paddy seeds in his hands and this will reveal any abrasions which may not otherwise be apparent. If any such are detected, their position should be marked with a red dye (*alaktaka*) in the form of a swan's foot (*hamsapāda*). When this is done, the accused should be asked to put his hands together in the *anjali* posture and in the hands so held together seven green leaves of the peepul tree should be placed one above another and they should be fastened to the hands with white yarn passed round the hands seven times. On the top of these leaves must be placed seven blades of *darbha* grass, curds and rice (*akshatas*). After this is over the thrice-heated ball of iron should be placed in the hands of the accused while standing in the centre of the first circle and he must be asked to walk from circle to circle until he reaches the eighth circle and deposit the ball in the ninth. He must walk at an even pace. He should not cover more than one circle at one pace and he must not put his feet outside a circle. Having reached the eighth circle, he must deposit the ball in the ninth circle, which ends the ordeal. The man is innocent if, after the ordeal his hands escape being burnt or scalded, and he is guilty otherwise. To remove doubts on the point, he should be made to crush and rub paddy seven times in his hands. If the hands still show no signs of being scalded by sunset, he must be declared innocent[26]

Before placing the heated ball of iron in the hands of the accused, the *prādvivāka* should address the fire in the iron ball thus: O, Fire! thou art the four Vedas. Thou art invoked in the sacrifice. Thou art the mouth of the gods and of those who proclaim the *Brahmam* (*Brahma Vedis*). Thou abidest in the stomachs of all creatures and therefore knowest the good as well as the evil. Thou purgest peoples of sin (*pāpam*) and art, therefore, called *pāvaka*. Show thyself with flames to the sinful and become cool with innocent. O, thou fire!

26. జ్ఞానేన నవిభావ్యశ్చదగ్ధాంవితికశాంతదా।
వ్రీహీంనతి ప్రయత్నేన సప్తవారాంస్తు మర్దయేత్॥
మర్దితో యదినోదగ్ధః సచ్ఛైశేవవినిశ్చితః।
మోచ్యశ్శుద్ధస్తు సత్యప్రత్య దగ్ధోదండ్యోయథాక్రమం॥ *Narada.*
హ్పౌతేళమథయేత్పశ్చా వ్రీహీన్యా యదివాయవాన్।
నిర్వికారే దినస్యాంతే శుద్ధంతమితి నిర్దిశేత్॥ *Pitamaha.*

movest about as a witness inside all creatures and thou knowest what men do not know. This man is accused and wishes to be cleared and do thou by justice clear him from this suspicion."[27]

*Jala Vidhi.* Ordeal by water.

The essence of this ordeal consists in immersing the accused person in water. The immersion must be in a tank, lake, channel river with a 'slow current' or the sea, provided the water is is comparatively still and free from mud, moss, leeches and fish.[28] Rivers with a strong current and water stored in a tub are unsuited for ordeal. Near the place of immersion a festoon should be erected as high as the ears of the person under trial. Two fast runners should be selected out of a group of fifty runners and one of them should be stationed near the festoon and the other near the target at which arrows will have to be shot as per instructions which follow. A bow of the middling speed and some arrows should be placed near the festoon and worshipped. A bow one hundred and seven inches long is fast (*krūra*), a bow one hundred and six inches long is middling and a bow one hundred and five inches long is slow.[29] Either a *Kshatria* or a *Brahmin* accustomed to archery, who is of a kindly disposition and of balanced mind, should take up the bow and arrows and should discharge three arrows aiming at a place one hundred and fifty cubits distant.[30] Arrows

27. త్వమగ్నే వేదాశ్చత్వార స్త్వంచ యజ్ఞేషు హూయసే।
త్వంముఖం సర్వదేవానాం త్వం ముఖం బ్రహ్మవాదినాం॥
జఠరస్థోహి భూతానాం తతో వేత్సి శుభాశుభం।
పాపం పునాసి వై యస్మాత్తస్మాత్పావక ఉచ్యతే॥
పాపేషు దర్శయాత్మాన మర్చిష్మాన్భవపావక।
అథవా శుద్ధభావేషు శీతో భవహుతాశన॥
త్వమగ్నే సర్వభూతానా మంతశ్చరసి సాక్షివత్।
త్వమగ్నే దేవ జానీషేన విదుర్యాని మానుషాః॥
వ్యవహారాభిశస్తోయం మానుషశ్శుద్ధిమిచ్ఛతి।
తస్మాదేనం సంశయాదస్మాద్ధర్మతస్త్రాతుమర్హసి॥ *Narada.*

28. నదీషు తనువేగాసు సాగరేషు వహేషు చ।
హ్రదేషు దేవఖాతేషు తటాకేషు సరస్సుచ॥ *Narada*
స్థిరతోయేనిమజ్జేత నగ్రాహిణి నచాల్పతే।
తృణశైవాల రహితేజలూకామత్స్యవర్జితే॥ *Pitamaha.*

29. క్రూరం ధనుస్సప్తశతం మధ్యమం షట్ఛతంస్మృతం।
మందం పంచశతం జ్ఞేయమేష జ్ఞేయోధనుర్విధిః॥ *Narada.*

30. మధ్యమే నతుచాపేన ప్రక్షిపేచ్ఛరత్రయం।
హస్తానాంతు శతేసార్ధేలక్ష్యం కృత్వావిచక్షణః. *Narada.*

should not be discharged while there is high wind blowing nor should they be discharged so as to fall on uneven or rocky ground or ground covered with trees or thickets. The fast runner who has been already stationed at this place, should pick up the second of the three arrows shot and wait there. Meanwhile the person under trial should be led into waist deep water and made to stand there holding a staff. When these preliminaries are over, the presiding judge should clap his hands thrice and at the third clapping, the fast runner at the festoon should run fast towards the other fast runner. Simultaneously with this, the accused should be completely immersed in water and he should so remain immersed until the ordeal is over. As soon as the first fast runner reaches his destination, the other fast runner with the arrow in his hands, should run fast to the festoon and if, when he arrives at the festoon, finds the accused still immersed, so that no part of his body is seen above water, the accused is innocent. Otherwise, he is guilty. Appearance of the crown of the head only without either the nose or the ears appearing, does not matter

*Visha Vidhi.* Ordeal by Poison.

This ordeal consists in the person under trial being made to swallow a small quantity of poison. The poison should be either of the *Śringi* or the *Vatsanābha* plant growing on the Himalayas; Seven *yavas*' weight of *Śringi* or six *yavas* weight of *Vatsanābha* is the proper dose.[31] Poison which has lost its virtue by being kept long, artificial poison and the poison of plants growing on lowland, is unfit for ordeal purposes.[32] Poison must be administered mixed with thirty times its weight of ghee, and at noon and in a cool place.[33] Before administering poison, the *prāḍvivāka* should address it thus: "O, Poison ! thou last been created by Brahma to judge the guilty. To the wicked, exhibit the proper qualities but to the virtuous, be as ambrosia"[34] The accused person should address it as follows: "O, poison ! thou art the son of Brahma and thou abidest in truth. Be as ambrosia to me and defend me from this accusation".[35]

31. యవాస్సప్త ప్రదాతవ్యా అథవాషట్ప్ శంకిత్యయా।
శృంగిణో వత్సనాభస్య హైమజస్య విషస్యవా॥ *Prajapati.*

32. చరితానిచ జీర్ణానికృత్రిమాణితథైవచ।
భూమిజాతాని సర్వాణి విషాణి పరివర్జయేత్॥ *Prajapati.*

33. పూర్వాహ్ణే శీతలేదేశే విషందేయం తు దేహినాం।
ఘృతం తుయోజితం శ్లక్ష్ణం విష త్రింశద్గుణాన్వితం॥ *Katyayana.*

34. త్వంవిషబ్రహ్మణా సృష్టం పరీక్షార్థం దురాత్మనాం।
పాపేషు దర్శ యాత్మానం శుద్ధానామ మృతంభవ॥ *Pitamaha.*

35. త్వం విషబ్రహ్మణః పుత్రఃసత్యధర్మే వ్యవస్థితః।
త్రాయస్వాస్మాదభిశాపాత్సత్యే నభవమేమృతం॥ *Yajñavalkya.*

If the accused survives the administration of the poison for the period required to clap hands five hundred times, without experiencing any of its deleterious effects, he is innocent[36]. The deleterious effects of poison are of seven kinds. During the first stage, the hair of the accused stands on end; the second stage produces sweating of the body and dryness of the mouth; the third stage causes discolouration and the fourth shaking of the body. The 5th stage produces lascitude and hiccups and the 6th stage hard breathing and unconsciousness. The 7th stage is death.[37] As soon as the verdict is pronounced, the accused must be treated medically so as to free him from the after effects of the poisons. Before the ordeal begins, the body of the accused person should be searched to see that the accused does not carry about him any antidotes to poison such as drugs, minerals and spells.

*Kos'a Vidhi.*

This ordeal consists is the accused drinking water in which Gods and Goddesses of a fierce nature (*ugra*) are bathed. If the accused has any favourite god, he must drink the water in which that particular god is bathed. If he has no such preference, he must drink the water in which the sun god is bathed. Thieves and accused soldiers should be made to drink the water in which the goddess Durga is bathed, and Brahmin should be given the water in which the Sun is bathed.[38] Bathing a god means bathing a symbol peculiar to that god. A trident should be bathed in the place of Durga and a disk in the place of the Sun. In the place of the other gods, their weapons should be bathed.[39]

The quantity of water to be drunk is three handfuls (*pras'rutis*) and it should be drunk by the man standing within a circle formed with cowdung. The accused must bathe and wear a wet cloth before drinking the water. He must also have feasted on the previous day. The proper

36. పంచతాలశతం కాలం నిర్వికారో యథాభవేత్।
తథాభవతి సంశుద్ధ స్తతః కుర్యాచ్చికిత్సితమ్॥ *Narada.*

37. వేగోరోమాంచ మాద్యోరచయతి విషజస్స్వేదవక్త్రోప శోషౌతస్యోర్ధ్వ స్సత్వరాద్యౌవ
పుషిజన యశోవర్ణ భేదప్రవేపౌ।యో వేగః పంచమో సౌజనయతివిషతాంకంఠభంగంచ
హిక్కాం షష్ఠోనిశ్వాసమోహావితరతిచమృతిం సప్తమో భోక్షకస్య॥ *Yajnavalkya.*

38. భక్తోయోయస్య దేవస్యపాయ యేత్తస్య తజ్జలం।
సమ భావేతు దేవా నామాదిత్యస్యతుపాయయేత్॥
దురాయాః పాయయే చ్చోరాన్ యేచశస్త్రోపజీవనః॥
భాస్కరస్య తుయత్తోయం బ్రాహ్మణం తత్తుపాయయేత్॥ *Pitamaha.*

39. దుర్గాయాః స్నాపయే చ్ఛూలమాదిత్యస్యతుమండలం।
ఇతరేషాంత దేవానాం స్నాపయేదాయుధానిచ॥ *Pitamaha.*

time for the ordeal is the forenoon. The accused should be adjudged innocent if, after drinking the *kōs'a*, he remains unaffected by any untoward consequences of a serious nature for a period which may extend to three, seven or fourteen days, according to the hienousness of the crime of which he is accused.[40] The untoward consequences may be those caused by an act of god or by an act of the king. The former include diseases of the body such as fever, diarrhoea and colic and also insanity. Serious loss of property and failure of business for which there is no apparent cause also comes under this head. The act of the king means punishment according to law.

The five ordeals described above are the major ordeals prescribed by all lawgivers. The next four ordeals are minor ones to be employed in comparatively small cases.

*Tandula Vidhi.* Ordeal by rice.

This should be applied only in theft cases. The *prāḍvivāka* should secure cleaned white rice of the *śāli* sort and soak it in water in which gods have been bathed, in an earthen pot, during the previous night. Early on the morning of the day of ordeal the rice should be given to the accused in three instalments, and he should be asked to chew it and then spit it on a leaf of the peepul tree or a *bhūrjapatra.* If the spit rice is quite white, the accused is innocent. If it is red or if the jaws or the palate of the accused bleed or cracked or if his body shaken he is guilty.[41]

*Tapta masha Vidhi.*

The *prāḍvivāka* should get a cup made of gold, silver, copper or iron or an earthen cup sixteen inches wide and four inches deep and fill it with twenty *palas* of ghee and oil mixed. In this mixture of ghee and oil must be dropped a lump of gold of the size and shape of a black gram seed. According to some law givers, the cup must be filled entirely with cow's ghee and a ring made of gold, silver, copper or iron dropped into it. The ghee or the ghee and oil should be boiled and when it is well boiled, the accused should be asked to take out the gold piece or the ring holding it between his thumb and forefinger only. If, after he has done so, there is no boil on either of those fingers, the man is innocent; otherwise he is guilty.[42]

40. త్రిరాత్రాత్సప్త రాత్రాద్వా ద్విసప్తాహా దథాపివా।
వైకృతం యస్యదృశ్యేత పాపకృత్సతు మానవః॥ *Pitamaha.*

41. శుద్ధస్యాచ్ఛుక్లనిష్ఠీవే విపరీతేచ దోషభాక్ । శోణితందృశ్యతే యస్యహనుస్తాలుచశీర్యతే।
గాత్రంచ కంపతేయస్య తస్యాశుద్ధిం వినిర్దిశేత్॥ *Pitamaha.*

42. ప్రదేశినీంచ తస్యాథ పరీక్షేయుః పరీక్షకాః।
యస్యవిస్ఫోటకానస్యుః శుద్ధోసావన్యథాశుచిః॥ *Pitamaha.*

*Phala vidhi.*

A piece of iron, eight inches long and four inches wide and weighing twelve *palams*, is called *phālam*. It should be heated till it becomes red and persons accused of theft should be asked to lick it once only. If the man remains unhurt by the licking, he is innocent.[43]

*Dharma dharma vicharch vidhi.*

Two figures should be made. One of justice (*dharma*) in silver and one of injustice (*adharma*) in iron or lead. In the alternative, these figures may be painted on two separate pieces of *bhūrjapatra*,-*dharma* in white and *adharma* in black. The figures should be worshipped-*dharma* with white flowers and *adharma* with black flowers,-and they should be inserted in two separate balls of mud or cowdung. The balls should be placed inside a sound earthen pot and the mouth of the pot should be shut and plastered with mud. The accused should then say "May *dharma* came to my hand, if I am free from sin", and so saying, he must put his hand into the pot and take out one of the balls without hesitating. If he picks up the *dharma* ball, he is innocent; otherwise, he is guilty.[44]

43. ఆయసం ద్వాదశపలం ఘటితం ఫాలముచ్యతే।
అష్టాంగులం భవేద్దీర్ఘం చతురంగుల విస్తృతం॥
అగ్నివర్ణంతు తచ్చోరో జిహ్వయా వేహయేత్సకృత్।
నదగ్ధశ్చేచ్ఛుద్ధిమియా దన్యథాతు సహీయత॥ *Brihaspati.*

44. యదిపాప విముక్తోహం ధర్మస్త్వా యాతుమేకరే।
అభియుక్తస్తతశ్చైకం పరిగృహీతా విలంబితం॥
ధర్మే గృహీతే శుద్ధస్స్యాద ధర్మేతు సహీయతే॥ *Pitamaha.*

# A SHORT BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM ARANG, (C. P.)

L. P. PANDEYA ŚARMA.

ĀRANG is a thriving town in the Raipur Tahsil situated in 20° 12″ N. and 81° 59″ E, in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It is 22 miles from Raipur on the Raipur-Sambalpur road and 4 miles from the Mahānadi river. The famous old capital of the Mahakōsal country Śrīpūr (now a deserted village and in ruins) is about 20 miles from Ārang. Ārang is the find-place of a copper-plate inscription which is dated in the *Gupta era* 282 corresponding to 601 A. D. This inscription records the grant of a village *Baṭpallikā* to Brahmans by *Maharāj* Bhīmsēna Varmā. Ārang contains very many fine old tanks with numerous remains of temples and sculptures of both Jain and Brāhmamical. The only temple which is now standing is a jain one popularly known as *Bhānd-dewal* from the fact that it contains 3 colossal naked figures of Jain gods. It is richly carved with a number of sculptured statues, many of them being highly indecent. One small temple is dedicated to the Mahāmāya or "great mother". Here was found a stone slab containing 18 lines of writing, the characters of which are *kuṭil* or Nāgari of 7th or 8th century A. D. Inside the enclosure of this temple 3 naked Jain figures are kept. These figures contain the symbols of an elephant, a conch and a rhinoceros representing *Ajītnāth*, *Nemīnāth* and *Sreyāms*. On the banks of the *Narāyan Jāl* (tank) there are many life-size statues of Vishṇu. About 1903, a Jain statue made of precious stone was found and was sold for Rs. 5000. All these finds and remains show the great antiquity importance of Ārang.

The Brahmi inscription which I am going to describe is carved on a stone found at Ārang while diggigng for earth. It is still there and to Mr. Umaryār Bēg, the Headmaster of the Vernacular School, I owe a good impression of this inscription, a transcript and translation of which has been made available to me by a famous epigraphist. As the Raipur District Gazetteer (1909) does not make any mention of this Brahmi inscription, it is clear, it was brought to light some time after 1909. Ārang was visited by General Cunningham in 1881 who found among the ruins two short inscriptions in old characters. He writes in his *Report* Vol. XVII as follows.—

"Among the rough flat stones collected near the police station there was found one fragment, apparently of a pavement slab, bearing

two short inscriptions in *old characters*, exatly the same as those of the *Amarāvati stūpa* which have been published by Mr. Fergusson. I read them as follows:—

1st. Suvarna mālī, 1., Bhari Sanayas, 1.,

2nd. Ganpatiyo Gokarnako, 8 (?)......

The name of Ganpati shows that the slab belonged to a Brahminical temple. In fact I saw no Buddhist remains at Ārang, all the curly headed statues turning out on examination to be common Jain figures."

Our present inscription appears to be incomplete and as it now stands seems to read—

भृङ्गार पर्व्वतो बलियोग विधितापको

*Bhṛngāra parvvatō baliyōga vidhi tāpako.*

It is written in the Brāhmi (southern) script of about the 5th century A. D., and seems to be connected with ascetic whose name is not preserved and who seems to have been a performer of certain *Yōga* rites possibly on the mountain which it calls Bhṛngāra. The performer of the *Yōga* rites might have been a man like Magaradhwaja Yōgi, whose name occurs in a number of inscriptions in Chattisgarh and C. P."

This inscription though not historically interesting is another proof of the antiquity of Ārang. The name *Bhrngār* mights have been the old name of Ārang itself.

In April 1929 I visited Śrīpur, the ancient capital of Mahā-Kōsala and on my way to the place I stopped for a day at Ārang. My short stay there resulted in the discovery of a set of three copper plates belonging to King *Mahā Sudēvarāja* whose capital was *Śarabhpur*-which place has not yet been properly identified. These plates are in the possession of one Bhāgīrathi Sonkar, a cultivator of Ārang. He could give us no information as to the time and place of their first find. He says that the charter has been in his family for the last 50 years—from the time of his late father. The plates bear inscriptions in the box-head characters and the seal attached to them has the figure of a "*Gaja-Lakshmi*" like the one found on the seal of Khariyar plates of Mahāsudēva described in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IX page 170. The charter records the grant of a village '*Śivlingaka*', situate in *Trisadda* division (Bhukti) to certain Brahmans in the 5th year of King Maha Sudēva's reign. It was issued from Śarabhpur, apparently the capital of Mahā Sudēva, The engraver's name is given as Drōna Singh, who also engraved the Khariyar plates referred to above. Stone Inscriptions in the box-headed characters are very rare in India, not a single stone

inscription, in box-headed characters, has yet been found in C. P. Of the eight copper plate inscriptions in the box-headed characters, discovered in Chhattisgarh six were issued from Śarabhpur (two belong to King Mahājayarāja and four to King Mahā Sudēva) while the other two belonging to Mahāśwa Tīvararāja—sovereign-lord of Mahākōsala were issued from Śrīpur the ancient capital Mahākōsala.

All these above mentioned copper-plate inscriptions do not give any date in any famous era. They, no doubt, contain dates in the regnal years of their kings. Hence we are not in a position to ascertain their age with any amount of certainity. According to G. Jouveau Dubreuil, author of "Ancient History of the Deccan", the age of the box headed characters falls between the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. But he speaks of the use and dis-use of this particular character in the Deccan. Will the same rule hold good for *Chhattisgarh Division* of C. P.? This is a point to be considered by scholars able to deal with the subject. I on my part, can only say that the new discovery of a set of copper plate characters in box-headed type, is another evidence of the antiquity of Ārang.

# HIPPOKUORA AND SATAKARNI.

PROF. JEAN PRZYLUSKI.

(*Translated from the French by* L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar M.A., B.L.,)

When we try to analyse the names of Indian towns, enumerated in the Tables of Ptolemy, we note that several amongst them are formed with a Greek name and an Indian word signifying "town".[1] *Hippokoura* (*Ptolemy*, VII, 1,83) is a good example of this type of compounds. This name, constituted of Greek *hippos* ("horse") and of Indian *kura* ("town"), means "town of the horse". But with what horse are we concerned here? And why is it used to denote the town?

* * * * * *

The Āndhra kings often bear a name: *Satakani* in the Prākrit of the coins, sanskritised into *Śātakarṇi.* The view that finds in this term, only the name of a single dynasty, is doubtful; for, we find Śātakarṇis through a period of five centuries, and it is hardly probable that the same family may have maintained itself in power during such a long and troubled period of Indian history.

In Sanskrit literature, Śātakarṇi alternates with Śātavāhana and Śālivāhana, and we find in the inscriptions: Sātakani, Sadakani, Sāda°, Sati°. No satisfactory etymology has been given for these forms and none of these forms will have to be neglected if the explanation is to be valid.

"One is tempted," says Mr. Barnett,[2] "to compare the Satakanis with the Satiyaputas (*As'ōka, Inscription II*), the *Śetae* described by Pliny immediately after the Andhras, and with the tribe of the *S'ātakas* or *Sātaka*". This observation indicates the path which we are going to follow.

If we suppose that *Sātiyaputa* = *Sātakani*, there remains (after removing *Sata* and its derivative *Sātiya*), the equation *puta* = *kani*. We should therefore examine if *kani* may be an Andhra word having the same meaning as *puta* (son) of Middle Indian.

In Muṇḍa, we have *kon* ("son"), and this root is common to a number of Austric languages.[3] The vowel *o* of *kon* is very open,

1 Cf. *B. S. L.*, *XX*, p. 218 *et seq.*

2 *Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 599.

3 *Les Langues du Monde*, p- 396.

neighbouring *a*. *Kani* clearly appears to be the notation of an ancient Austric word reduced to *kon* in the majority of modern Austric dialects. A final *i* is found still in Juang where *koni* has the meaning of "son". Satakani doubtless signifies "son of Sata," and Śātakarṇi is a Sanskritised form of this tribal name whch may have been borne by several dynasties.

The Muṇḍa languages have, besides, *han* and *hapan* ("son".[4] The former comes from *kan* through the fricatisation of the initial) sound, and the latter is related to the former, with an infix *pa*, in addition. This infix *pa* is used in Munda for forming collective nouns, and Father Schmidt has shown[5] that infixes are, sometimes, ancient prefixes introduced into the body of the word. It is therefore possible that *hapan* <* *pahan*. If we suppose an Andhra word like* *Satapahana*, we conceive easily that it may have been sanskritised into Śātavāhana.

Finally the Muṇḍa form *han* "son" without the infix, might have given* Satahana. A precisely analogous name is recorded by Hemachandra[6] who cites the patronymic Sālāhaṇa which goes back to Sātahana, as Sālivāhana does to Sātavāhana. The Muṇḍa equivalents of Sātiyaputa are therefore capable of explaining not only Sātakani of the inscriptions, but also a series of forms more or less sanskritised. Śātakarṇi, Śātavāhana, Śālāhaṇa.

Since, in Śātakarṇi, Sātavāhana, etc,, the second element goes back to a Muṇḍa original, it remains for us to examine if the first element may be explained in the same manner. We find, *Sāta°* and *Sāda°* in the inscriptions. The following are the forms for "the horse" in a certain number of Muṇḍa languages:

Santāli ; *Sadām*
Mahle : *Sādam*
Muṇḍari : *Sādām*
Birhor : *Sādām*
Dhangar : *Sādām*

*Sātakani* = *Sādakani*, could then signify "son of the horse". It becomes evident here that the results of our analyses receive reciprocal confirmation. Hippokoura, the name of the capital of the Andhras, signifies "town of the horse," and the patronymic of the Andhra kings may be interpreted as "the son of the horse." The same god, venerated under the form of the horse, should have given its name to the royal town and to the princes considered as his descendants. Other facts are available to support this interpretation.

4 Cf. "*Un ancien peuple du Penjab, les Udumbara,*" J.A. 1926, i, p. 26.
5 Cf. *Grundzuge einer Lautlehre der Khassi-sprache*, p. 708.
6 Hemachandrā, *Desinamamata*, et *Cf.* Lacôte, *Essai sur Gunadhya et la Brihatkatha*, p. 26.

The recent researches of M. Dumont on the *as'vamēdha* have brought to light the procreative role of the horse in royal families. The Andhra kings, we know, celebrated horse-sacrifice. Now, the final rite of this ceremony consecrates a magic (and hence a fertile) union between the premier queen and the sacrificed horse. The princes born of this union could therefore be called "sons of the horse."

The doublet Sātiyaputa-Śālivāhana is capable of explaining two forms which appear to exclude each other in Pliny's texts. In the sixth book, §104, of the *Natural History*, the *lectio vulgata* is Cœlobothras. But some manuscripts, and amongst them the most ancient, have Celebethonas. Under this last-mentioned word, M. Sylvain Levi has proposed to restore a form Cālavādhana or Cālavahana. "A modification which is very easy and fully authorised by paleography, permits the substitution, for the group *th*, of the group *ch* with which it is often confused in the writing of the tenth century; we arrive thus directly from Celebechonas to Cālavāhana, *ch* being the most approximate transcription of Indian *h*."[7] Celebechonas is in fact allied to Cālivāhana but it does not follow at all that the reading Cœlobothras is to be rejected. °*bothras* is evidently the transcription of the Sanskrit word *putra* which we have found in Sātiyaputra. It clearly appears that Pliny has recorded, in his work, two variants with the same meaning, between which the transcribers have thought it legitimate to choose.

* * * * *

A. Cunningham has described a series of Andhra coins, among whch two bear the image of a horse. On several coins of this series we read, by the side of a royal name, a title ending in °*kura*[8] Mr. Rapson who has corrected Cunningham's transcriptions, reads the two titles thus: Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura.[9] M. Sylvain Levi whose attention was recently drawn to these enigmatic inscriptions, had to repeat, in his turn, what Mr. Rapson had already said in 1908: "No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the forms Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura".[10]

If *kuro* is a non-Aryan word meaning "town", Viḷivāya and Sivala should designate the town where lived the kings who inscribed these names on their coins; in other words, these kings should have taken for their title the name of their capital. Such a usage is attested in ancient India. The king whom Greek historians call Taxilès, bort the name of his town Taksaśila, and Strabou (*XV*, i, *36*) tells us thae

7 *J. A.*, 1890, ii, p. 549, n. 4.
8. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 108.
9 *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra dynasty*, p. XXXVII,
10 *J. A.*, 1925, p. 56,

the king of the Prasi "added to his family-name the surname of Palibothros, as was done for instance by Sandrokottos to whom Megasthenes was sent as an ambassador."

As Cunningham had already suggested, Sivalakura should be connected with Siva. Sivala appears clearly to be a Middle Indian derivative from Śiva. It seems that the Śaivite king Māḍhariputra gave to his capital and took for himself, the name of the god.

As for Viḷivāyakura, it bears remarkable resemblance to the royal title Beleokouros noted by Ptolemy. M. Sylvain Levi who read Baleokouros[11] has already observed this resemblance. The reading Beleokouros adopted by M. Renou[12] exposes the parallelism of the forms still better.

In Ptolemy's Tables the capital of the king Beleokouros is called Hippokouros. It seems that

Hippokoura
* Beleokoura
Viḷivāyakoura

are three names of the same capital. This being granted, if we isolate the element *kura* ("town") common to these three names, there remains viḷivā(ya) = beleo = hippos = horse.

In Sanskrit we have *vaḍavā* ("mare") and *vaḍava* ("horse which resembles a mare"), to which corresponds Pali vaḷavā ("mare" or "horse"). It is possible that in Hippokoura *hippo* is the Greek translation of Indo-Aryan *vaḍavā*, *vaḷavā*. Let us examine this conjecture more closely.

Phonetically, the equation *baḍavā°—vaḷavā°* = *beleo°* involves, on the one hand, a contraction of *vā* to *o*, and on the other hand a change in the character of the two first *a*'s. The former phenomenon has nothing surprising in it; however, in the Greek transcriptions of Indian geographical names, *o*<*va* is generally noted as *ō*: Peukalaōtis = Puskalāvati, Hydraōtes = Irāvati. The alteration in the character of the two first *a*'s of * vadavākura | * vaḷavākura under the influence of the *u* of *kura* should be a result of the law of vocalic harmony.[13] This law is exactly applicable in the Muṇḍa languages, and I have shown elsewhere that the Indian word *kura* ("town") belongs to the ancient vocabulary of these languages. It is therefore probable that the name of a town like vaḷavakura may have been pronounced* beleokoura by the non-Aryan peoples of ancient India.

11 *J. A.*, 1925, p. 56.
12 *La Geographie de Ptolemee, l'Inde*, VII, I, 83,
13 Greek transcriptions of Indian names which doubtless reproduce popular forms, are rich in facts of vocalic harmony: Ambuḷima Embolima, Hiranyabāhu Erannoboas. Puṣkalāvati Peukelaotis.

Beleo°, noted by Ptolemy, was doubtless a popular form used among the traders and the sailors, while viḷivāya°, engraved on the coins was probably borrowed from the language of the administration, *i.e.* from another linguistic *niveau*. Viḷi corresponds to Bele°; vā tends to restore the ancient sanskrit form whose syllable vā has contracted to *o*; the termination—*ya* recalls *vaḷāhaya* of the Jaina Prakrit. It seems, on the whole, that Viḷivāya is a compromise between a popular form Beleo° transcribed by Ptolemy and a literary form in —*vāya*, more allied to Sanskrit *vaḍāva* than Prakrit *vaḷāhaya*.

* * * * *

This discussion has been useful not only to establish the agreement of the Indian and Greek evidences. It also throws some light on he political and the religious history of the Andhras.[14] The title Viḷivāyakura, compared with Ptolemy's text, shows that the capital of this people bore the name of the mythic horse. This means that in the religion of the Andhras, as well as in Vaishnavism, the horse was the incarnation of a great God. Under Māḍhariputra, the title of the king changes: himself and his capital borrowed their name from Śiva; this should have been the consequence of a religious reform. Under his successor Vāsiṣṭiputra, the ancient royal title and along with it as a consequence, the ancient cult also were restored. Let us also note that Māḍhariputra's coins are sometimes the old pieces of his predecessor, struck anew. The same thing recurs in the reign of Māḍhariputra's successor. This disrespectful practice indicates the negation of the authority of the preceeding king. The religious reform appears therefore to have been accompanied by a political revolution. Everything looks as if the Vaishnavite tradition had been suddenly broken by the usurpation of a Saivite king, and then renovated by his successor.

Finally, the suggestions made above are capable of illuminating certain aspects of the literary history of India. We know that indigenous tradition associates the efflorescence of the Prakrit literature with the name of Hāla (who is a Sātakaṇi king), even as it connects the renaissance of Sanskrit literature[15] with the memory of Vikramaditya. When we shall have to estimate the part played by the non-Aryan influence in the development of Prakrit literature, we shall have to remember that the onomastic of the Andhras contains an important Austric element.

14 We may also note here that a new vista is opened up for the linguistician too. The use of Austric forms to denote names of towns and dynasties points to the influence of the Austric speeches in this part of India. How far Dravidian may have been affected by it, is a matter for Dravidologists to investigate. [Note by Translator].

15 Garrez, *J. A.*, VI series, XX, p. 199 *et seq.*

# DEVARAYAPURA PLATES OF PRAUDHADEVARAYA (DEVARAYA II.)*

C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A., L.T.

This is a set of of three copper plates kindly brought for me by Mr.K. Venkata Subbayya, Telugu Pandit of the Municipal High School, Anantapur, from their owner, Mr. Korni Krishna Reddi of Kānāla, a village five miles from Nandyāl in the Kurnool District. They were found some twelve years ago by their present owner while digging the old fort wall in the village of Kānala for laying the foundations of a house. They have ever since been in his possession.

The plates are in the manner of those of the Vijianagar kings, a rectangular portion surmounted by an arch. Each plate measures 7½″ long in the rectangular portion and 9″ with the arch, and 5⅘″ broad. There is no writing on the outer faces of the first and third plates and their rims are raised towards the written faces. The rim of the second plate which contains writing on both sides is raised both ways. The rims of the first and second are about ⅕″ thick, while that of the second which is thicker measures about ⅜″. The ring connecting the plates is missing with its seal. The first and third plates have gone under the hammer of the goldsmith, but the writing is left undamaged.

The writing is in the Nāgari characters of the time. The *visarga* is generally left unmarked in several places. '*j*' is written in two ways, (*Cf.* I. l. 5. '*kumjara*' and III. l. 9· '*jāyatē*'). Similarly '*h*' (*Cf.* I. l. 7 *Harī* and II. b l. 11, '*malā=grāmam*'.) The doubling of a letter is generally left unmarked. (*Cf.* I. 4. '*Ōdhata*' for '*Ōddhata*'; II a. 1., '*abhū-tasya*'; for '*abhut tasya*'; I. 23 '*vinay-ōnata*' for '*vinay-ōnnata*', and so on.)

The donor is Prauḍhadēvarāya or Dēvarāya II who reigned from A.D.1423—1440. The geneology of the king as given in these plates accords with that of the other plates of the Samgama Dynasty of the Vijianagar kings. This dynasty is also called the 'Yadu' dynasty (I. l. 12) Samgama's son was Bukkarāya. Bukkarāya had a son Harihara by his wife Gaurāmbikā. Harihara's son was Pratāpadēvarāya. To him was born 'Vijayabhūpati, by Dēvāmbā. Vijayabhūpati's wife was Nārayaṇāmbikā by whom he had Dēvarāya II, the donor of the present grant. He is here described as a valourous king, as having the enjoyments of Vikramāditya like a second Bhōja, like Rājarāja in charity, and served

* A Paper read before the First Quarterly Meeting of the Society held on 28—7—29.

by the kings of Vanga and Kālinga with their 'Chāmara' and other inisgnia of royalty held personally by themselves. He had the titles "*Rājādhirāja Rājaparamēs'vara, Bhāshā=lamghita=bhūpala=bhujamga, Mūṛu=rāya-ra=gaṇḍa, Para=rāya=bhayamkara,* and *Hindū=rāya=suratrāṇa.*" ( II(a) ll. 4—11.).

The donee is one Sahasrabhaṭṭa (II—b. l. 4) son of Gamgādhara. He belonged to the *Sâma Śākha* and *Drāhyāyana Sūtra.* His family name was Pamtamgi. Four families with his surname still exist in the village of Kānāla where these plates were found. Sahasrabhaṭṭa was a great scholar in *Tantra, Tarka* and the *Mahābhāshya.* He was a *Śâstri* and not only was well-versed in *Śrauta* but was also a teacher of *Śrauta.* He had a swan's mind in the separation of the milk from the water of the mixed *Dharma* and *Adharma.*

The village granted was '*Dēvarāyapura*'. It consisted of the two villages of *Pulambâka* and *Mâlagârapaṭṭa.* It was also known as 'Gaurasamudram'. It was in Chāḍamanḍala, connected with Jayagoṇda Paḍaviḍu, Duttukātkōṭa, and Vailamkāṭūru. Its boundaries were *Madhuri* to the west, *Chittâlapâka* to the north, *Vailamkaṭūru* to the east and *Samgamagrāma* to the south. Dēvarāyapura may be identified with the present village of that name in the Śirvēl Taluk of the Kurnool District. It now forms part of the present village of Chintaguṇṭa.

The Sabhāpati dictated this copper-plate grant by the order of the king Prauḍhadēvarāya. The engraver was Vīraṇa, son of Śrīmukhaṇa. The ordinary imprecatory verses close the grant.

The grant is dated in Śaka year '*Kara—Baṇa—Agni—Indu* (1352), the cyclic year *Ānanda,* on the *Krishṇāshṭāmi* day in the month of *Śravaṇa,* and given before the God *Virūpāksha* on the banks of the Tungabhadrā. The year corresponds to 1430 A.D.

## TEXT.

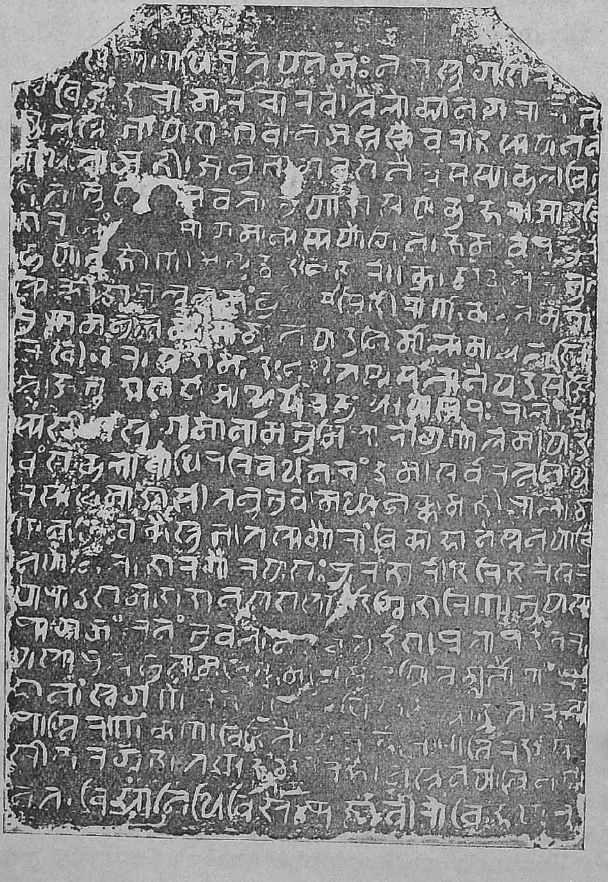
### *PLATE 1.*

1 Śrī Gaṇādhipatayē namaḥ | namas=tunga=śira-
2 ś-chumbi chandra=chāmara=chārave | trailōkya=nagarārambha=
3 mūlastambhāya Śambhavē | namas=tasmai Varāhasya[1] yāna nī-
4 t=2ōdhata mahī | anubhōga=vaśēn=aiva sasyō hala=vibhū-
5 shita[3] | bhūya[4] syai bhavatām bhūy ād=āścharya=kunjara[5] | āhur vi-
6 hāra=kām'āram=āgamāny=asy yauginа[6] | kshmam va prachurī'
7 kuryāt kshōṇim=abhyudvahan Hari[7] | krōḍākritēr=abhū[8] ta-
8 sya krīḍā=palvalam=ambudhi[9] | asti Kshīr=āinav=ōdbhūtam=apā
9 pushpam=anuttamam | āmalānam yadu=nirmalyam=ādhattē śrī=
10 rasvīśvaraḥ[10] | sadā=mōda=ninhē[11] tasya samtānē yadu=samjñi-
11 tē | abhūd=āścharya=mādhurya vasudhāyās=tapach=phalaṃ | a-

1. Read Varâhâya, 2. Read ô-ddhata, 3. Read 'vibhushitah', 4. The letter here' is' indistinct, 5, „ 'kumjarah' 6. „ 'yôginah', 7. Read 'Harih' 8. Read 'abhut', 9. „ 'ambudhih', 10. The reading is doubtful' 11. „' nidhês.

12 sya śrī Samgamō nāma bhūmi=pālō guṇōttama[12] | yadu=
13 vamśa kulāmbhōdhi parivardhana chamdrama[13] | sarva ratnaniēh-
14 r=asya samrād=āsī[14] tanūbhuva[15] | madhyē Bukka=mahīpālō ma
15 ṇinām=iva Kaistubha[16] | tasya *Gaurambika*=jānēs=tanayō vi-
16 nay=ōnnata[17] | hāra=gaura=yaśah=pūra=hārī *Harīharēśvara*[18]
17 ya[19] shōḍaśa=mahādāna=yaśasā dig=vihāriṇa[20] | bhūyasā=
18 py=agamam nūnam bhuvanāni chaturdaśa | *Pratāpadēvara-*
19 yasya putra[21] Sutrāma=vikrama[22] | pramōda[23] yiva mūrtōyam pra
20 jānām svagaṇēr=abhūt—pratyarthi=samidhau hutvā pratā-
21 pāgni[24] raṇāmkaṇē[25] | vihitā dhana vīraṇa[26]virāja=ya
22 śrī=kara=graha[27] | tasya *Dēmāmbi*=jānās=tanayō vinayō[28]-
23 nata, vidyānidhir=viśēshajñō vīrō Vijayabhū-

I

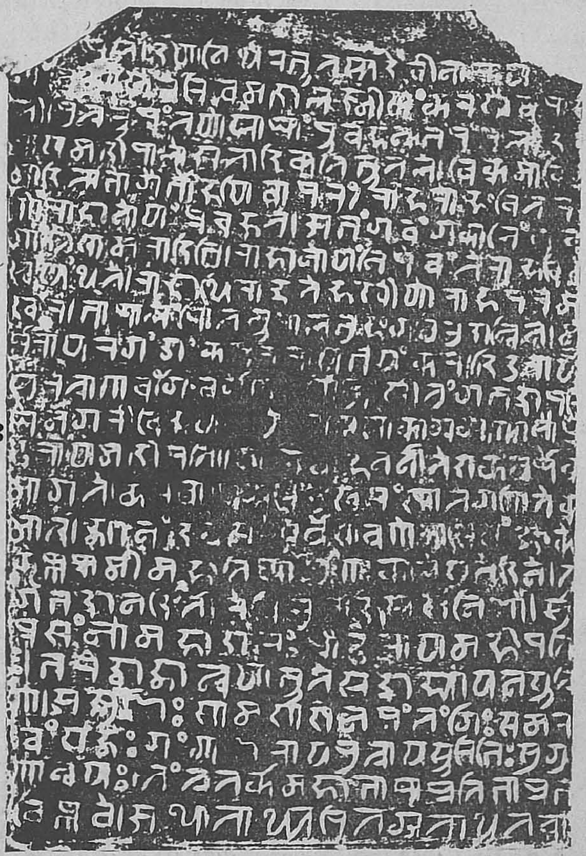


3

12. 'Ḡunôttamaḣ' 13 Chamdramâḣ', 14. ,, 'âsît' 15. ,, 'tanubhavaḣ' 16. ,, 'Kaustubh aḣ'
17. ,, 'ônnataḣ', 18. ,, 'Hariharêśvaraḣ', 19. ,, 'yaḣ, 20. ,, 'vihârinâ',
21. ,, putraḣ 22. ,, 'vikramaḣ', 23. ,, 'iva', 24, ,, 'agnim',
25. ,, 'ranâmganê 26. ,, 'vîrêna', 27. ,, 'kara-graha', 28 ,, ônnataḣ

Plate II., First side.

II (a)



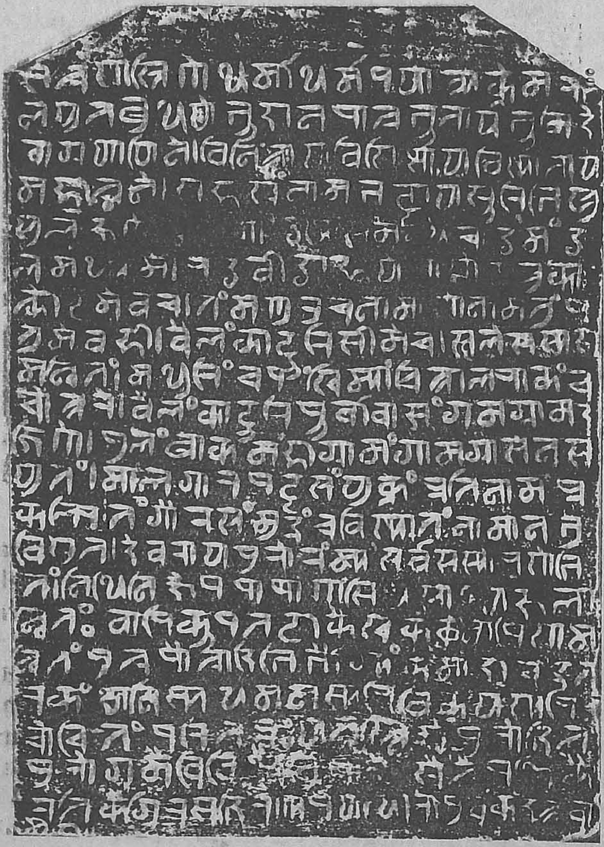
1 pati[29] dayā=nidhēr=abhū[30] tasya dēvī *Nārāya-*
2 *nāmbikā* | Śaurer=iva Mahālakshmī [31] Śamkarasy=aiva Pārva-
3 tī | putra rūpam tayō[32] ślāghām pūrva janma tapah phalam *Dēva-*
4 *rāya*=mahīpātō śatadikati[33] bhūtala[34] | vikramō Vikra-
5 māditya=bhōgair=Bhōja[35] yiv=āparam | Rājarājam vitara-
6 ṇē rājānō yam prachakshata | abhamga=Vamga=Kālinga=Vam-
7 gās=tais=chāmarādibhi | rājānō yam nishēvamta rāja=chihnai[36]
8 svayam=dhritai[37] | rajādhiraja=tejasvi yo rajaparame[38]-
9 śvara | bhāshā=lamghita=bhūpāla=bhujamgabirudānvitam—mū[39]-
10 ṛu=rāyara=gamḍamka[40] para=rāya=bhayamkara[41] Hidu[42] =rāya
11 suratrāṇa[43] Vamga=vargēṇa varṇitum[44] | śrī=Tungabhadrā=pari-
12 ghē nagarī Vijaya=āhvayē | puṇya=stōk=āgragaṇy=ōsau Prau=

29. „ 'patih' 30. „ 'abhut', 31 „ 'lakshmīh', 32. „ 'tayos'.
33 „ 'samadisati', 34 „ 'bhutalam', 35. „ 'iv=', 36. „ 'chinais'
37. „ 'dhritaih', 38. „ 'paramêśvarah', 39. „ '=ânvitah', 40 „ 'gamḍâmkah'
41. „ 'bhayamkarah', 42. „ 'Hindu-'. 43. „ 'sura trâṇah', 44 „ 'varnitah,'

13 ḍharāya=mahīpati[45] || Śālivāhana=nite Śaka=varshē kra-
14 m=āgatē | *kara=bān=āgnir=imdus*=cha samyuktē ganitē kra-
15 māt | *Ānamda vatsarē* Varshē *Ś uvanū māsi* samjñake |
16 *Krishna=astami*=mahātithyām puṇya=kālē śubhē dinē | Tum-
17 gabhadrā=nadī=tīrē Virūpākshasya samnidhau | su-
18 prasannō mahōdāraḥ *Prauḍharāya*=mahīpati-
19 ḥ | Bharadvāja=ānvay=[46] ōbhūta sa-[47] Drāhyāna=sūtri-
20 ṇē | sa sudhiḥ[48] Sāma ś=akhana[49] Pamtamgiḥ samara=
21 vamśajaḥ | Gamgādharāya[50] put āya sūribhiḥ sugu
22 ṇ=ānvayaḥ | tamtra=tarka=Mahābhāshya=pratibhā=prabha-
23 vishṇavē | adhīt=ādhyāpita=śrauta[51] dhṛita=chā-

*Plate II., Second side.*

*II (b)*



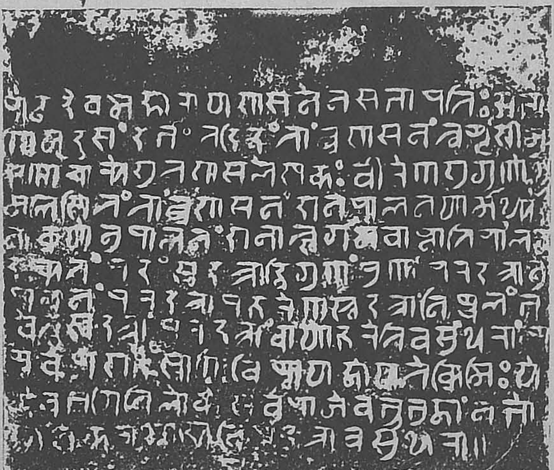
1 ritra=śastinē[52] | dharmā=dharma=payōvyaktē marā-
2 la=yuta=[53] budhaye | bhūdāna=pātra=bhūtāya bhūmidē-
3 v=āgrayāyinē | vinītāya viśishṭāya vikhyātāya

45. ,, 'mahîpatiḥ', 46. ,, 'odbha,t-,h' 47. ,, 'sad—', 48. ,, 'sudhiḥ', 49. ,, '—sâkhîyah, 50. ,, 'Gamgâdharasya' 51 ,, 's'rautô' 52 's'âstrinê' 53 'buddhayê'

4 mahātmanē | Sahasra=nāma=bhaṭṭāya sūribhi[54] stū-
5 ya=lakshaṇē | Jayagōmḍākhyā[55] sammamdhē Chāda=mamḍa-
6 la=madhyamē | paḍavīr=āhvayē rājñō Duttukā-
7 tkōṭam=ēva cha | Tammaṇūru cha nāmākhō[56] nāma Tumpa-
8 tum=eva hī | Vailamkāṭūri sīmē cha | sthalē[57] sasya=sa-
9 m=anvitam | Madhurim cha paśchimyām Chittālapākam cha-
10 ch-ōttarē | Vailamkāṭūri=pūrvō vā Samgama-grāma=da-
11 kshiṇē | Pulambāka=mahāgrāmam[59] gāma=grāsēna sam-
12 yutam | Mālagārapaṭṭa=samyuktam pra-
13 kalpitam || Gaurasammudram cha vikhyātam nāmānam bhu-
14 vi śruta[60] | Dēvarāyapurō[61] | ramyam sarva=sasy=ōpa=śōbhi-
15 tam | nidhi=nikshēpa=pāshāna=[62] sidha=sādhya=jalā-
16 nvitaḥ[63] vāpi=kūpa=taṭākais=cha kachēn-āpi śāma-[64]
17 nvitam | putra=pautr=ādibhir bhōgyam kramād=āchamdra=tā-
18 rakam | dānasya dhamanasy[65] pi vikrayasya[66] pi
19 ch=ōchitam | parita[67] praḥ[68] yatasthige[69] (?) purōhita-
20 purōgamai[70] | vividhair vibhudaisai[71] tai padhika-
21 ratikai[72] gira[73] | sa=hiranya=payō=dhārā=pūrvakam dattavā[74]
22 mudā||

*Plate III, First side.*

III



54 'suribhis' 55 'Jayagôndâkhya sambaadhê' 56 'nâmâkhyô' 57 'sthalam' 53 'grâma' 59 's'rutam' 60 'Dêvarâyapuram' 6 'siddha' 62 'jalânvitam' 63 'vâpî' 64 'samō' 65 'dhamanasy-âpi' 66 'vikrayasy-api' 67 'paritah' 68 'pra' 69 The reading is doubtful 70 'purâgamaiḥ' 71 'stais-taiḥ' 72 rathikai' 73 The reading is doubtful. 74 'dattavân'

1 Prāuḍhadēva=mahārāya=śāsanēna sabhāpatiḥ abhā-
2 ni mṛidu=samdarbham tad=idam tāmbra=śāsanam | tvastṛi-śrīmu
3 khaṇ=ācharyo[75]-suta śāsa[76] lekhakaḥ Vīrēṇa suguṇōddhā[77]-
4 ma=likhitam tāmbra=śāsanam dāna=pālanayōr madhyē dā-
5 nāch=chrēyōnupālaṇam dānāt svargam=avāpnāti[78] pālanā-
6 d=achyutam padam | sva=dattā[79] dviguṇam punyam paradatt=ānu-
7 pālanam para=datt=āpahārēna svadattam[80] nishphalam bha-
8 vēt | sva=dattām para=dattām vā yō harēti[81] vasumdharām sha-
9 shṭir=vasha[82] sahasrāṇi vishṭāya[83] jāyatē krimiḥ[84] yē-
10 k=aiva bhagiṇi[85] lōkē sarvēshām=ēva bhūbhjām na bhō-
11 jyā na kara=grāhyā vipra=dattā vasumdharā||

*SRI VIRUPAKSHA.*

75 'âchârya' 76 's'âsana' 77 'ôddâmâ' 78 'avâpnôti' 79 'svadattâd' 80 'svadattâm' 81 'harêta' 82 'varshê' 83 'vishṭâyâm' 84 'êk-aiva' 85 'bhaginî.'

# CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HON. THE EAST INDIAN COMPANY AND THE KANDREGULA FAMILY IN THE XVIII CENTURY.

*(Continued from page 222 of Vol. III above.)*

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

In this article, five Letters (from Letter No. 5 to Letter No. 9, both inclusive) are published covering the period from 16th January 1762 to 23rd February 1785.

Briefly told, Letter No. 5 reveals the anxiety of the E. I. Co. to take possession of all the Forts in the Five Circars in order to maintain peace, so that their commercial properity might increase.

In Letter No. 6, the Company advise Jogi Pantulu to visit the Subah's Court, ostensibly for making certain presents to him but vertually to learn from the Divan and other Officials on what terms and for what period the 5 N. Circars will be given for rent to the company. The inclusion of Guntur Circar is specially insisted upon. The attempt to obtain certain lands on Jagir system by which the revenues accruing from them would be paid to the company for supplying a body, European and Indian Sepoys to the Amildar in charge of the Circars is noteworthy. The beginnings of the Subsidiary Alliance system are really found here. An attempt to obtain *Sanads* for the 5 Circars on condition of supplying a permanent European force to help the Subah in his wars is also made. A list of presents to the Subah, his Diwan and other officers of the Nizam's Court also appears in the letter.

A rent of 15 lacks of Rupees for the 5 Circars of Guntur, Ellore, Mustaphanagar, Rajahmundry and Chicacole or 12 lacks only for the 4 Circars excluding Guntur, to be paid in 3 separate payments of 4 lacs each. and a cowle for 7 years are the points pressed on Jogi Pantulu's attention to be carried through by the means suggested in the letter.

Letter No. 7 instructs Jogi Pantulu to represent to Ruckunal Dowlah that there would be no use of sending an army into Chicacole Sircar against Seetarama Razu (Raja of Vizianagaram) to recover rents due from him as he is poor and always engaged in quarrels with the local Zamindars.

Letter No. 8 informs Jogi Pantulu to persuade Ruckunal Dowlah not to send troops into Chicacole country but should he insist, then it must be given out that the Company's troops at Rajahmundry would also join in the march, provided suitable consideration is made by way of granting as Jagirs, districts already noted in letter No. 6.

Letter No. 9, while acknowledging some hope of being able to obtain the five Circars at rent, reminds Jogi Pantulu of the importance of obtaining the fort of Mustaphanagar, failing which the liberty of putting a garrison into it in the event of Maratha or other invasion should be allowed for the company. Also the importance of obtaining Guntur Circar for rent on account of its situation, by accommodating at the same time its holder Basalat Zang, brother of Nizam elsewhere, is emphasised. Reference is made with regard to collection of outstanding balances from the Zamindars of the 5 Circars and payment of Company's rent of five lacs for the five Circars in three instalments.

The Mission of Jogi Pantulu was crownred with success as the Company was able to rent the 5 Circars.

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LETTER NO. 5.

FORT ST. GEORGE, *16th January, 1765.*

TO JOGUE PUNTALOO

I have received your letters of the 10th and 22nd December and 4th and 6th instant which I have communicated to the Governor and Council, you are not by any means to exceed the terms you are authorized to offer, and they still hope you may be able to get the affair settled at a more reasonable rate, but if you find there is no likelihood of your succeeding, you are to take your leave, giving the Subah to understand that the Circars will be scarce so advantageous to him in the hands of any others, whatever promises they may make him, you may also intimate to him, that if the Company were left scrupulous, they could easily find means of getting possession of them at a much more moderate price but if the Subah should agree to the proposals you may make him, you must insist on the Company's having possession of all the Forts in the Circar of Mustaphanagur and being at liberty to take possession of such others as they may think proper in the other Circars, as they cannot otherwise preserve that good order and obedience in the

from the sum you was before authorized to offer for the five. Its produce has been generally estimated at eight lacks of rupees per annum, and would, I am informed, produce that at least, in a good year if the Country was well cultivated, although its value in the Government Books I understand, is not above half that sum, or about four lacks of rupees yearly which is a circumstance you must attend to should you enter upon a negociation for the other four Circars, and find it impossible to get this included which is what you must endeavor at by every argument in your power, for it is not only a country very capable of improvement, and has many of its towns so intermixed with those of the Nizampatam Districts as to give frequent cause for disputes among the inhabitants but the business of the Company's merchants which is chiefly carried on there is liable to interruption and impositions, and the intercourse between this place and Madras subject to impediments of which we had a very particular instance a few days ago. The acquisition of it becomes therefore an object of very great importance, but if you should find that all your endeavors to obtain the whole of that Circar are ineffectual, you must insist on having the several villages belonging to it, as particularized in the list herewith delivered you and which border upon and are intermixed with those of the Nizampatam Circar, granted to the Company as a perpetual Jagueir, giving Ruckunal Dowlah to understand that unless this point is complied with, the Company will not rent the other four Circars and in order to carry this point you need not be sparing in the customary presents to Divan and other officers about Court.

I have wrote this far on a supposition that the Subah shews a disposition for letting the Circars to the Company at rent, and that a negociation with him for that purpose should take place, but in case Hussain Ally or any other person belonging to the Court should have influence and interest enough to prevent it, you must endeavor to obtain for the Company certain Jaguier grants of lands, in consideration of the assistance to be afforded the Amuldar who may be appointed to the management of these countries. The following are the Districts which lie most contiguous to the Company's other possessions and are generally considered as the most advantageous, and which I would therefore recommend to you to obtain grants for in case the proposal for renting the Circars should not take the place.

Devra Cotah.
Four Pergganahs.
Oayoor,
Madoor,
Conja Caulawah.
Etacotah and Tautapacah,

Paroor.
Mandapettah.
Bandarlanka.
Ganjam and some adjacent countries
Some villages about Vizagapatam.

The Revenues of these countries may be estimated at about five lacks of rupees yearly for which the Company would engage to furnish a body of two hundred Europeans, a Battalion of Sepoys, and a train of artillery, consisting of six field pieces to be always ready to assist the Amuldar in the management of the Countries, but if any heavy cannon should be required for the reduction of Forts, or larger force wanted, the extraordinery charge must be defrayed by the Amuldar acting for the Circars. But you will observe that nothing of this kind must be mentioned by you unless you should find there is no longer any hopes of succeeding in obtaining the Circars at rent.

It is necessary here to remark to you that by the purport of one of the late letters received from camp, it seems as if the Subah would be glad of a body of Europeans to be constantly with him to assist him in his Military operations. You will therefore endeavor to find out what his sentiments are on this subject and whether, we might expect to obtain his *saneds* for Force. But you will be careful not to give the most distant hint that we have any such intentions, endeavoring only to sound the Subah's inclinations and communicate to me the best information you are able to obtain on the subject.

I now furnish you with presents for the Subha, his Divan and other officers of the Court as of the accompanying list and you will herewith receive twenty five Gold Mohurs to be disposed of as you may see proper, with three hundred Madras Pagodas for defraying your expences, on the road and during your stay at Camp. Should you have occasion for more, you may give bills on me payable to any of the soucars here.

I have already recommended to you to insist on an equitable deduction from the offers you was before authorised to make, for the rent of the Circar of Guntoor provided the Subah should not consent to let us have it with the other four, and this deduction must at least be three lacks of rupees, that is to say, instead of fifteen lacks of rupees, which you was before authorized to offer for the rent of the five Circars, you are on no account to exceed twelve lacks for the four of Ellour, Mustaphanagur, Rajamundri and Chicacole to be paid at three several payments, of four lacks each. The first payment to be made in one country and maintain peace and tranquility, which you may acquaint

him is the principal motive for their being desirous of obtaining them, the expense of reducing them, it is justly apprehended, will deprive the Company of any considerable advantage from the Circar.

I am,
Your friend,
(Signed) JOHN PYBUS.

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LETTER NO. 6.

TO CONDRAIGULOO JOGUE PUNTALOO,

The frequent letters I have received from the Vackeel employed, at Nizamally's camp and from Ruckunul Dowlah, Divan to the Subah with assurances of his Master's Friendship and good will towards the English nation and pressing your coming to camp, had at last determined me on sending you thither on a visit only and to give the Subah assurences of the friendship of the English but having received authority from the President and Council for entering upon a negociation with him for visiting these countries on account the company which from the several letters received from camp, I have reason to think he is desirous of doing; I now dispatch you with letters to him, his Divan, and other Principal officers of his court, to endeavor to discover what are his real intentions and if you find him disposed to enter into any engagements, that may tend to the Company's advantage, I hereby give you authority to treat with him, and now furnish you with such instructions as I think necessary for your guidance in this business.

As you have already been employed at the Subah's court on the same errand you are now going, and have with you the instructions then given you from the Governor of Fort St. George and myself in what manner you was to act, there will be the less occasion for being very particular now, as those directions are what you must principally attend to, in transacting the business you are sent on. But as circumstances are much changed since that time as well with respect to the Subah's situation, as the state of these countries, I shall here point out such general directions only as appear to me necessary for your guidance and whiche recommend to your attention and observance.

The footing on which you are *now* going to Court, and that you before went on, you will observe, are very essentially different.

Your last embassy was from the President and Council of Fort St. George to sollicit the Subah to grant the five Northern Circars to the Company at a certain stipulated rent, and for a certain term of years, which he did not then think proper to consent to. At present, there is much reason to believe from the frequent importunities, and overtures which have come from the vackeel employed at his court, and even the Divan himself, that the Subah has changed his mind, and repents his having rejected our proposals. Your business must be therefore to pretend that you are now sent to Court for no other purpose but to pay the Subah a respectful visit and to carry him some presents on behalf of the Company before he leaves this Country, and that you are furnished with no power or instructions for entering upon any negociation or business relative to the taking these Circars at rent on account the Company, pretending always that as the Subah had not accepted the proposals before made to him on this subject, and had appointed an Amuldar to the management of them, the Governor and Council of Fort St. George thought it needlessness to make any further offers. This you must give as your opinion and cautiously avoid letting any thing escape you that may give the least room to suspect that you are sent to Court on any other errand than a visit. If the Subah is really disposed to rent the Countries to the Company, which his present very distressed situation for money leaves me no room to doubt, you will endeavor to find out from his Divan, and other officers of his Court, for what term of years and on what conditions we may be able to obtain them, and your answer to any proposals which may be made to you on this account must be that you will acquaint me with them, and wait my directions. Hussainally is now on this way to Court, and will probably be there as soon as you, from whom you must conceal the business you are sent on, as it will not be for his interest that you should succeed although I am inclined to believe he will not have influence enough to prevent it, as the Subah is, I am of opinion, convinced by this time that he will never receive so much from the Countries under the management of him, or any other person, as we have offered for them. But since our first proposals were rejected, we must in our turn endeavor to take advantage of his necessities.

This Circar of Guntoor since you was last at Court has I am informed been settled in a very formal manner on the Subah's brother, Basalet Jung, which we may not therefore be able to obtain *saneds* for. It must then be your particular care when you enter upon any negociation for renting the other four Circars, to deduct the full value of this month after the delivery of the *Saneds* and the other two payments at the distance of four months each payments in which manner the payments of the Rents are to be made for the term of years, we may engage

to take the Circars, which must be at least for seven years. The Chief difficulty, should the business you are going on succeed, will I am apprehensive, be to find responsible Soucars who will engage to make the stipulated payments to the Subah at Hyderabad, but this you will endeavor to manage if possible among the Soucars at Camp. If that cannot be done I will try to settle that business here. In your former instructions, you had authority to promise the Divan Ruckanul Dowlah. the annual sum of fifty thousand rupees had we obtained the five Circars at rent; this you may augment to seventy five thousand rupees yearly should you find it necessary, but on condition only of our having the five Circars for seven years. But if *Saneds* for four Circars only can be obtained, you must on no account exceed the sum of fifty thousand rupees, you was at first limited to, and to be paid as mentioned in your instructions. The presents necessary to be made to the Court officers and servants must be left to your discretion and management, in which I recommend to you all possible frugality. You are to remember that we are to be at liberty to take possession of all the Forts in the several Circars we may engage to rent should you see proper, and that no Jagueirs are to be allowed to any one. Should the Subah be desirous of settling any grants of that kind you may let him know that the amount shall be paid by us in money to such person or persons on whom he may chose to bestow those marks of his favor on conditions that the same be deducted from the annual stipulated rents.

As there are very considrable ballances due to the Circars for two or three years last past from the several Zemindars and for a much longer time from the Chicacole Rajah, it is very probable some consideration will be demanded on that account. It is impossible for me to determine how much may be the amount of these outstanding amounts although I know it must be very large, but as there will be much trouble in settling them and much more in collecting the money, you must be very particular in your enquiries concerning the amount of the ballences that may be outstanding and if you find it impossible to avoid taking them upon the Company, it must be done on such moderate terms as to afford a certainty of their reaping considerable advantage by so doing and a period of two or three years allowed for making good the payments which are to be made on that account.

As you will be within a day's journey of me you will constantly advise me of your proceedings, and be careful to make no promises or engagements without first communicating the terms and conditions to me, and having my approbation, and as many circumstances will occur in the course of this negociation which cannot be foreseen by me, much must be left to your prudence and discretion. I shall therefore only

further recommend to you to endeavor to obtain the most advantagious terms you can for the company in the business which is now entrustod to your management, wherein I wish you success and date this in Masulipatam this 17th day of June 1765.

(Signed) JOHN PYBUS.

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LETTER No. 7.

MASULIPATAM, *23rd June 1765.*

JUGGOO

I have received your letters of the 20th and 21st. You must endeavour by all means to prevent the Subah's sending an army into the Chicacole country, by representing to Ruckunal Dowla that it would only serve to ruin the country and be attended with no advantage as 'tis very well known that Sittaramrauze is very poor having spent the revenues of that Circar in *Sibbendy* Charges by the large army he always kept in pay, and being engaged continually in quarrels and disputes with all the Zemindars of the Chicacole Country, he can have no money, that he must not therefore pay any regard to what Hussain Ally has told him of procuring money by marching a body of troops that way which he has done in hopes of gaining the Subah's favour and being continued in the management of the Countries, but that he must not trust to his word or place any dependance on what he tells him.

In talking with Ruckunal Dowlah about renting these countries on account the Company, you may acquaint him that you will write to me on the subject, and that very probably the Governor and Council of Fort St. George being willing to have the Subah's friendship and favor may consent to take the countries if he desired it.

I am,
Your Friend,
(Signed) JOHN PYBUS.

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LETTER NO. 8.

MASULIPATAM, *24th June, 1765*,

TO JOGUE PUNTALOO,

I received last night your letter of the 22nd and am in hopes. Mine of yesterday's date will reach you before Nizamally determines upon sending an army into the Chicacole country, and that you will be able to persuade Ruchunal Dowlah that no good consequence can possibly attend such a measure; but should you find that is not to be done and that Ruchunal Dowla is to be left with a body of troops to assist in settling the northern countries, you may give him to understand that you make no doubt the Governor and Council of Fort St. George will readily join him with the troops at Rajahmundry provided a suitable consideration is made to the Company and it must be your particular care and attention to endeavour to obtain from him Jaguier grants of those districts pointed out to you in my instructions, by giving him to understand that it is your opinion that the Company will on no other conditions interfere in the affairs of the Circar, having found that no dependance is to be placed on Hussain Ally's promise. Should Ruchunal Dowlah move towards Rajahmundry with Hussain Ally I will certainly visit him there, or on his march thither. You must not give any hopes that we can join the Subah with a body of troops to march with him up the Country till you shall hear further from me on that subject.

I am,<br>
Your friend,<br>
JOHN PYBUS.

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LETTER NO. 9.

MASULIPATAM, *30th June, 1765*,

TO JOGUE PUNTALOO,

Your letter of the 27th instant by some accident or other did not come to my hands till this morning. From the contents of this letter you give, I find some hope of being able to obtain the five Circars at rent

[illegible] the Company, and apply to me for further directions on some particular points, which I shall here give you.

The possession of the fort of Mustaphanaigur is a very important point to be obtained by us as it commands the most principal pass into these countries and is therefore what you must endeavor all in your power to get granted by the most faithful assurances to the Subah of [illegible] restored to his order when we give back the countries. But if [illegible] the full [illegible] possession of it and the villages be[illegible] prevailed upon to give up [illegible], you must [illegible] that we have liberty to put a garrison into his Fort, [illegible] appearance of the approach of a body of Mo[illegible] to these countries, or any other enemies by that pass with absolute and positive order to his Kiledar to admit our troops into the Fort and assist us with all his force in opposing their entrance; but if the Subah positively objects to this likewise, we must rather than lose the opportunity of getting possession of the Circars submit, and reserve to ourselves the liberty of taking such measures for securing the tranquillity of the countries on any appearance of trouble as to us shall seem proper.

As the President and Council of Fort St. George would not—I am well satisfied—choose to enter into any quarrel or dispute with Basalet Jang if it can be avoided, we must be satisfied without the Circar of Guntoor unless the Subah can be prevailed on to give [illegible] his pro[illegible] must be mind[illegible] possession [illegible] Guntoor is on many considerations [illegible] such importance to the Company on account of its situation But if the whole Circar cannot be got on any other conditions than our entering into a quarrell with Basalet Jung for it, you must negotiate only for the four Circars of Ellour, Mustaphanaigur, Rajahmundry and Chicacole, taking care that a suitable deduction is made for the Circar of Guntoor. But the villages belonging to that Circar mentioned in your instruction must be procured for the Company at all events.

In answer to the objection made that the countries shall not be answerable for any outstanding ballances which may be due to the Company from the renters and zemindars at the expiration of the term of years, for which the Saneds are granted us, you may observe that we ought not for the same reason to be accountable to the Circar for the outstanding ballances due from the several Zemindars when we get the Saneds, but that the company should be at liberty to collect all they could on their own account and you must cautiously avoid making any

promises relating to the outstanding ballances but for such an amount as you are well assured the Company must be very considerable gainers by the argument and should you suceed in negociating for the rent of the four Circars, you will be mindful that it be particularly expressed in the Saneds that we shall be permitted to keep possession of the Forts and Countries for three months after the expiration of our Cowles for collecting in the outstanding ballances due to the Company at which time the countries shall be delivered up to the Amuldar that may be appointed by the Subah to the management of them,

You must not on any account promise more than the payment of five lacks one month after we get the Saneds for the five Circars and four lacks only, if we get Saneds for no more than four Circars, and the rest to be paid within the year at three equal payments as it would be a great loss and inconvenience to the Company to make the payments monthly. If you should be able to settle for the outstanding ballances on reasonable terms, one or two lacks more ready money on that account may be promised, the rest to be made up in two or three years. I will talk with the principal soucars here and endeavour to get them to undertake the business for the Company, but I believe Lalldoss who is now with the Camp will be the most proper person. You may therefore try if he will undertake it, should you find your negociation for the Circars is likely to succeed.

If there is an appearance of finishing your business with the Court, I would have you continue there till that is done. If not, you may take leave and come away as soon as you can.

I am,
Your friend,
JOHN PYBUS.

# * THE PULIMBURU PLATES OF THE E. CHALUKYA KING JAYASIMHA I.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

A set of 4 impressions of the plates was placed in my hands by Mr. Peṇḍyala Subhramanya Śastri of Pittapur, while another set of 4 impressions of the same plates was handed over to me an year back by Mr. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, the President of the Society for editing the same in the Society's Journal. The original plates from which both the sets were prepared were kept in the office of the Andhra Sahitya Parishad, Cocanada till they were taken over by Mr. P. S. Sastry recently.

This grant and a grant of Mādhava Varma of Vishṇukuṇḍin Dynasty were both published in Telugu under the heading of Puliburu Inscriptions, in the Telugu Magazine "Āndhra Sēva" by Mr. Sastry several years ago.

Both the plates describe the gift of Polamūru village in Ramachendrapur Taluk of E. Godavari Dt. to Vedic Scholars.

The present grant consists of 3 plates and on the first side of first plate and the second side of third plate, no matter is inscribed as those sides were intended to cover up the inner matter.

Each plate measures 6″ × 2″ nearly. Half an inch distant from the rim, there is a hole through which passes the ring containing a seal. But in the present case, neither ring nor seal is found. But since on the seals of the other grants of this king are found crescent, lotus and the legend 'Sree Sarva Siddhi', it is presumed that similar symbols should have been inscribed on the seal of this plate also. The alphabet employed is Telugu—Kannada *lipi*. The four sides contain 6 lines each so that the whole grant consists of 24 lines only. The language is Sanskrit prose excepting the usual Vyāsa Slokas in the end

The subject matter of the present plate is briefly this:—Mahārājah Jayasimha Vallabha, son of Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja granted free of all taxes the village of Polamuru in Guddavāḍi Vishaya to the Vedic Scholar and native of Asanapura, by name Rudrasarma, son of

* A paper on this subject was read before the Quarterly Meeting of the Society held in July 1929.

Śivaśarma, son of Dāmaśarma. The donee is said to be well versed in two Vedas only and to belong to Gautama Gōtra. He is said to be the former owner of the same village of Polamuru which he probably lost after the last Vishṇukuṇḍin reign but which he regained now at the hands of Jayasimha, the firm establisher of E. Chalukya dynasty on the east coast. From the plates of Mādhavavarma of Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty, also discovered in the same place, we learn that he gave the same village as gift to Sivasarma, the father of Rudraśarma, the donee of the present grant. Either Sivasarma or his son Rudraśarma should have lost the village during the troublesome period which existed after the fall of the last Vishṇukuṇḍin and the rise of the first Chalukyan king in 615 A.D. Between the first gift and the second gift of the same village, a period of 40 years might have elapsed and since Jayasimha ruled from 633 to 663 and his father Kubja Vishnuvardhana from 615 to 633, it may be considered reasonable that the last Vishnukuṇḍin king closed his reign in the beginning of the 7th century. It is known that Pulikesin the elder brother of Kubja Vishnuvardhana invaded Vengi and Kalinga countries in the year 609—610 and probably he ended the Vishnukundin rule.

Śivaśarma, who received Polamuru by the grant of Mādhava Varma is said to be a native of Kunduka, a village in Kamma Rashtra, while his son Rudraśarma who regained the same village is said to be a native of Asanapura, a village in Guddavadi Vishaya. This Vishaya or District is said to correspond to the modern E. Godavari District and the village of Asanpur is still found a few miles off Drākshārāma in E. Godavari District. The village granted, viz, Pulimburu is the modern Polamuru, near Anaparti Railway Station in E. Godavari District.

The other grants of this king published so far are:—

(1) His Nidamarru plates published in Telugu Bhārati of May 1925.

(2) His Pedda-Maddali grant published in Indian Antiquary Vol. 13.

(3) His Niduparru grant noticed as C.P. No. 7, in Annual Report for the year 1916—1917.

(4) His Kombarru plates noticed as C. P. No. 11, in Ep. Report for the year 1917—1918.

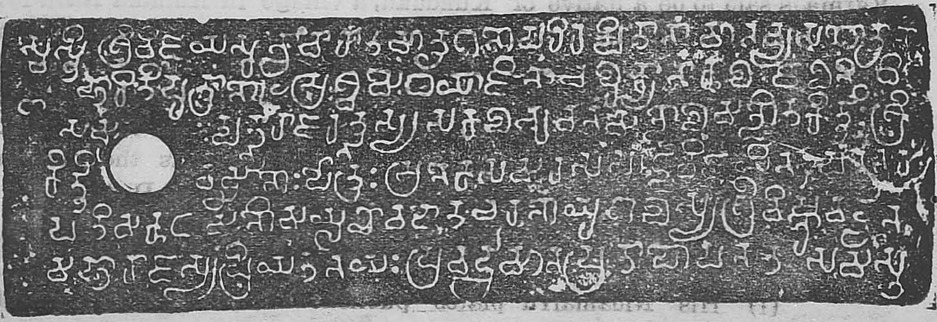
(5) His Mrōparru grant noticed as C.P.No. 9 in Annual Report for the year 1919—1920.

From the half a dozen plates of this king published or noticed so far, we get the following history:—

The rule of this second king of the E. Chalukya line extended from Guntur Dt. in the South-West to Vizag Dt. in the North-East. Telugu *Lipi* and Sanskrit language employed attest to the Andhra revival and Aryan influence. All the grants were made to Brahmins for their Vedic learning. The kings were called Parama Brahmaṇyas as they encouraged Brahminical faith, ritual, sacrifices etc. The donees who were all well versed in Vedic and Puranic lore were expected to teach the same to young and ardent pupils in their own residences called Ghaṭikas (Residential Colleges). They were also expected to help the king in performing sacrifices of various kinds. The Chinese pilgrim, Yuan chwang who visited Vengi during his rule attests to the rising power of Brahmanical faith and the decline of Buddhism.

TEXT.

*First Plate, Second side.*

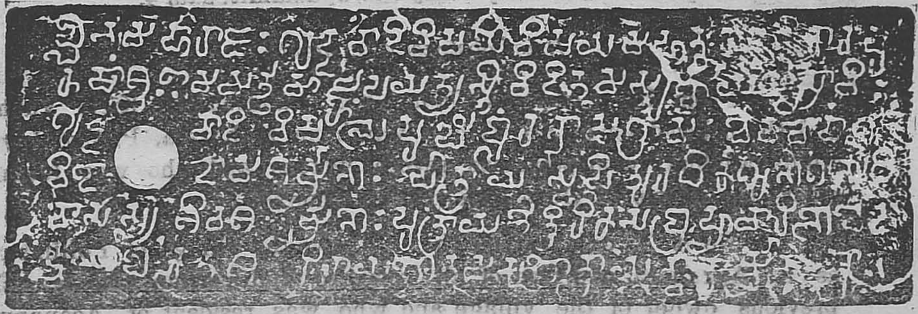


1. Svasti Śrī Vijaya skandhāvārāt Mātṛgaṇa parirakshi tānām Mānavyasa Gotrāṇām |
2. Harītiputrāṇām aśvamēdha yājinām Chalukyānām kulajala-nidhi.
3. Samutpanna rājaratnasya sakala bhuvana maṇḍala maṇḍita kirtih Srī.
4. Kīttivarmmaṇah pautrah anēka samara samghaṭṭa vijayi-nah paranara.
5. patimakuta maṇimayūkhāvadāta charaṇa yugalasya Srī Vishṇu vardhana.
6. Mahārājasya priyatanayah pravarddhamāna pratāpōpanata samasta.

*Second Plate, First side.*

7. Sāmanta maṇḍalah svabāhubala parākramōpārjjita sakala-yaśō.
8. Vibhāsita digantarah Svaśaktitraya triśū lāvabhinnah paranarapati.
9. Sakalabalacētanah Bṛhaspatiriva nayajñah Manu riva vinaya.
10. Jñah Yudhishṭira iva Dharmmaparāyaṇah Arjunavadapara-nara.
11. Patibhiranabhilamghita pāurushyah anēka śāstrārddha-tatva Jñah para-
12. Mabrahmāṇyō mātāpitṛ pādānudhyātah Srī Prithivī Jaya Singha Va-

*Second Plate, Second side.*



13 llabha Mahārājah Guḍḍavāḍi vishayē vishaya mahattarānadhi-kāra pu
14 rushamścha imamatthamājña pa yatyasti viditamastu vō yushmābhih
15 Guḍḍavāḍi vishayē Pulibūmrannāmagrāmah Vēda Vedamga
16 vidō Dhāmaśarmmaṇah pautrāya svapituradhihaguṇa gaṇādhi

17 vāsasya Śivaśarmmanah putrāya Taittirika sabrahma chāriṇā. Vēda

18 dvayālamkṛta śarīrāya Gautamasa Gōtrāya svakarmā nush-ṭhāna

*Third Plate., First side.*

19. Parāya pūrvāgrahārika Rudraśarmmaṇē Asanapurasthana vastavyāya.

20. Srī Sarvasiddhi dattyā sarvakara parihārēṇā grahārīkṛtya samprattah.

21. tadhā bhavadhbiranya'ścha dharmmādhiśata buddhibhih paripālanīyah.

22. nakaiśchidbādhā Karaṇīyā Ajnaptiratra Hastikōśa Vīrakōśā yō

23. sagītah Bahubhir vasudhā dattā bahubischānupālitā yasya yasya.

24. yadhābhūmi stasya tasya tadāphalamiti sam 4.

*Brief abstract of c ntents.*

From his victorious Camp—the grandson of Kīrti Varma and the beloved son of Sri Vishnu Vardhana Maharaja, Prithvi Jayasimhavallabha, who possessed several virtues and who was learned orders the people of Guddavadi vishaya thus:—

Be it known to you that we gave the village of Pullimburu as an Agrahara and free of all taxes, to Rudrasarma who was the previous owner of the village and who was resident of Asanapura and who belonged to Taittirīya School and Gautama gōtra and who was well versed in two Vedas and performance of his own duties and who is the son of Sivasarma and grandson of Damasarma.

Protect this gift. The executors of the grant were Hastikosa and virakosa. The usual Vyasa slokas follow.

# THE ORIGIN OF THE RIGHT AND LEFT HAND CASTES DIVISIONS.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M. A.

The Hindu population of Madras had been for many centuries divided into two main factions, the Right and Left Hand castes, "the members of which were as ready to fall out with one another on the smallest provocation as Orangemen and Ribbonmen were in Ireland, or the Montagus and Capulets in Verona". The Madras Consultations, October 30th for 1707, have an entry regarding a paper in the *Gentue* (Telugu) language signed by President Baker, Agent Greenhill and Mr. Gurney, dated in the year 1652, *i.e.*, only twelve years after the foundation of the settlement, for composing differences among the Right and Left Hand castes, which Governor Pitt had from the latter. A translation of this paper is appended to the Consultation and its substance was that there were several disputes and differences between the castes about their respective streets. The Right Hand castes were to reside in the particular streets appointed for them, where were to live or come none of the Left Hand castes. Similarly the Left Hand castes were to confine themselves to their streets; and whoever should trespass into the other side's streets with their wedding and funeral processions was to forfeit a thousand dollars.* The factions thus appear to have been co-eval with the foundation of the settlement. (The distinction between the two Hands is very old, but it seems to have been unknown in the North, and to have been confined only to a part of South India. The distinction was prevalent in all the Tamil and Canarese Districts, and some of the Telugu castes observed it also, but it was absent in Malabar. The Abbe Dubois tells us of the prevalence of the distinctions in Mysore about 1800 and wonders at the excesses and violence to which some quarrels might lead these. Usually the *Valangai* or Right Hand faction comprised almost all the more respectable castes together with the Ādi Drāvidas (Pariah caste) who are called *Valangai-mattar* or friends. The *Idangai* or Left Hand faction comprised the Panchāla or five sorts of smiths, the Chakkilians or leather-workers, the Pallans and certain others of the lowest castes. The Brahmins, the Vaḷḷaḷars, and a few other respectable castes are neutral.)

* Fort St. George Records, *Diary and Consultation Book for 1707*. (1929) pp 75—76, and also Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time* (1882) pp 263—264.

Mr. Nelson, the observant author of *The Madura Manual*, thinks that religious differences had nothing to do with the distinction which was "attributable to jealousy regarding local rank and to nothing else." Buchanan notes the prominence of the the distinction in the Mysore Country in his *Travels*; he says that the Right Hand side numbered eighteen castes, and included Vokkaligars, Komatis who are Vaisyas Jains, Kurubars, potters, washermen, palankin-beares, barbers, painters of cloth, shepherds, and Holeyas. The elements of the Left Hand faction were the Panchālas or five kinds of smiths, black-smiths, carpenters, copper-smiths, gold and silver smiths and masons, Beri-Chettis, Dēvāngas, Beydurs, and Mādigas (tanners and shoe-makers); and the last formed the most active combatants in all disputes. The different castes of each division were not united by any common tie of religion, occupation or kindred, but seemed to be merely fighting for certain honorary distinctions. The Right Hand side claimed the exclusive privilege of using 12 pillars in their marriage pandals (pavilions) and that their adversaries had no right to ride on horseback, nor carry a flag painted with the figure of Hanumanta. The Left Hand side pretended that these were conferred on them by a grant of Kali. The division into two factions is attributed by tradition to a grant of Goddess Kali at Kanchipura. (*A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. I., pp 77-80).

Dr. Macleane, author of the *The Madras Manual of Administration*, (Vol. III., Glossary pp. 1036-37) says that the movement was always confined to South India, its centre being at Conjeevaram "where there are to this day special halls for both parties" In various localities the same castes embraced occasionally different sides, yet on the whole the principal parties or both sides were the same. The Vellalas and the Pariahs were right-hand men; so also were the Vaḍuga-Vallalar with the swan flag, Reddis with plough flag, Kammavar with bull flag, the Nattamar with ally flag, Coontalavargal with *chakor* flag, Malayaman with the talipot flag, Komatis with the cotton flag, shepherds with wheels, Telugu shepherds with conch, Kannaḍiyar (Canarese) shepherds with tents and five coloured flag, Padma Sāleys (weavers) with tiger flag, Paṭṭusaley with the two-headed bird flag, Vaḍuga Sheniyar with the jasmine flag, Jendravar (Telugu weavers) with the crocodile flag, Kannaḍiya Sheniar with the eagle flag, Paṭnoolkarar with silk flag. Shedar (weavers) with the tortoise flag, Shekku Vaniar (oil-pressers) with the *garuda* flag, Wonteddu Vaniar (one bullock oil-pressers) with the parrot-flag, Shanappar (hemp-dressers) with *makaram* flag, Kanchiyar (braziers) with peepul flag, basket-makers with sword flag, fox-beggars with the dog flag, Tamil Kusavar

(potters), Telugu and Canarese potters, *fluters*, *nattuvars* (dancing masters), dancing girls with *Manmatan* flag, Shanai Koravar, Lambādis (salt-sellers), Hunters, Patnavar, Karaiyar, Oddar, Obravar (tank-diggers), Bajis, washermen, barbers, Dombars, Mariamman Poojaris, Poojaris, Irular (wild foresters), Kudukudupakar (sooth-sayers) Yenadis, ex-communicated black-smiths and ex-communicated carpenters, ship-carpenters, and Telugu sailors (Kappal Vadugar.)

On the Left Hand side were Beri Chettis-(from Beramu = trade) who claimed to be the only representative of a true Vaisya stock belonging to the Left Hand castes and were distinct from the Komatis, - with kite flags, Nagara Vaniyar (twon oil mongers) Kaikōḷar (weavers) Kammāḷar (artisans) viz., goldsmiths, braziers, masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths and Pallis with big axe, and crane-feather, *Vengai* and red-lotus garlands and flags of cock, vulture, fox, etc.; Paḷḷars and Chakkiliar (leather-workers), Male Paḷḷis and female leather-workers were of the Right Hand. The women of these two castes took different sides from their husbands in disputes. Certain castes took no part in these quarrels; these were Brahmans, Shepherds, and Sātānis. While the Left Hand everywhere comprises the Panchālar or five guilds of smiths together with the leather workers and a few other insignificant castes, the Right Hand comprised all the principal castes of the country. In short it was a dispute between the principal artificers and the agricltural, mercantile and other classes. The Panchālar affected to wear the sacred thread. On the West Coast the League consisted of four classes only, viz., the carpenters (Āchārries), brass-founders, smiths and silver-smiths, the masons being excluded. The circumstance that when the artisan caste tribes were excluded, a group of five castes elonging to the Right Hand, (called in Canarese *Pancham Benajiga*) was opposed to a group of five castes belonging to the Left Hand (Panchāla) might possibly have given rise to the name of hands" (Macleane, Vol. I., pp 69—70.)

In the Mysore and Canarese regions the principal castes of the Right Hand side were the Pancham Banijagaru who were traders and wear the Linga, and the Teliga Benijagaru who worshiped Vishnu. The Pancham Banijagaru were the leaders of this division.

A mythical account of the origin of the *Idangai* Left Hand classes is given in Inscription No. 489 of 1912, *(South Indian Epigraphy)* which is noticed on page 109 of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913. According to Crole's *Chengleput District Manual*,

Karikāla Chōla divided the people into these two parties, assigning 98 tribes to each and appropriating to their use distinctive flags and musical instruments for their use at festivals and funerals. "This distinction established at first for political reasons, or to prevent disturbances, has for the last several centuries been the constant source of contention and has ever given rise to serious tumults."

The antiquity of these divisions is proved beyond doubt by literature and inscriptions. The earliest inscriptional reference to it is a record of Rājēndra Chōḷa Dēva I. (No. 341 of 1907), where the *Valangai* class is mentioned. In the *Tondaimandala Śatakam* we have got a reference to the unfriendly feelings between the Kammāḷars and the Veḷḷāḷas. The agriculturists must evidently have asserted that the artisans were their servants as the latter had to supply to them the "necessary tools of husbanbry". "That the Kammāḷas were at some social disadvantage may be inferred from Inscriptions, Nos. 509 of 1893, 151 of 1905, and the Pāsupatīśvara Inscription published on pages 46 and 47 of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. From these records it is ascertained that the Kammāḷa enjoyed certain privileges such as wearing shoes, sounding drums and conches, building tiled-houses and houses with two entrances etc., only with the special sanction of the ruling king. It may be noted also that the *Valangai* (Right Hand) classes were admitted to high positions in the military service during the time, of Rāja Rāja I." There were a large number of *Valangai* regiments in the Chola service, as mentioned by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in his "Introduction to Vol. II of *South Indian Inscriptions*". "Thus the *Valangai* and *Idangai* differences seem broadly to have been those between the Kammalas and the Vellalas. Generally it is said that the terms Valangai and Idangai came to be applied to these two parties when they laid their differences before the king who decided the case with the one party on his right and the other on his left. There are reasons to infer that this event happened at Kanchi, though we do not know exactly the name of the king to whom the two parties appealed. In this city (Conjeevaram) the differences between the two classes are more marked then in any other place as evidenced by the existence of *Valangai* and *Idangai* temples, *Valangai* and *Idangai* mantapas, and *Valangai* and *Idangai* dancing-girls." "In inscriptions we have references only to these classes, but no mention is generally made of the sub-sects that belong to them. Each of these seems to have included 98 sects (No. 59 of 1914). The 98 sub-sects of the *Idangai* class, to strengthen their bond of unity

entered into a compact in the 49th year of Kulōttunga Chōḷa III., tracing their lost origin. (*Annual Report for Epigraphy* for 1913; p. 109). That the Depressed Classes were also included in the divisions is proved by inscription from Marungūr in the Travancore State where the degraded *Valangai* and *Idangai* classes were prohibited from making gifts to a temple. The ruling chiefs seem to have taken no cognizance of the differences between these two classes. In Ins. No. 564 of 1902. King Vijaya Bhupatiraya Udaiyar, son of Dēvarāya I, ordered that both the *Valangai* and *Idangai* classes of Tiruvan-nāmalai should enjoy the same privileges." (*Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy* for 1920-21; *pp* 103—104)

According to Mr. V. Venkayya quoted above, 13 of the regiments of Rāja Rāja Chōḷa the Great, mentioned in the Tanjore Inscriptions belonged to the *Valangai-Velaikkāra-padaigal,* the Veḷaikkāra troops of Right Hand. The *Velaikkara* Troops were possibly volunteers who were enlisted when the occasion for their services arose, though it is also conjectured that they might have been mercenary troops. "It is difficult to determine if this designation (*Valangai*) is based on the distinction between the Right and Left Hand castes of South India. No mention of any Left Hand troops of this class is made in the Tanjore Inscriptions, though their existence may *prima facie* be assumed" (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II., Introduction, p. 10).

An inscription on the north wall of the Pasupatīśvara Shrine at Karuvur (No. 25 edited and translated in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp 46--57) contains the order of the King Tribhuvana Chakravartin Konerinmaikondan, granting certain privileges to the artisans of the district of Vengala Nāḍu, like the blowing of double conches, the beating of drums on the occasion of marriages and funerals, the wearing of *sandals* by the castes and the covering of their houses with plaster. There is an almost identical inscription of the grant by a king of the same name of similar privilege to the Kammāḷars of the South Kongu country.

Thus we have abundant epigraphic testimony regarding the existence of these factions from the eleventh century onwards. A stone inscription of Vijayanagar days (No. 92 of 1916) dated *Saka* 1351, seems to record a compact agreed upon by the *Valangai* and *Idangai* castes of Vriddhāchalam (South Arcot Distict), that they would inflict corporal punishment on those who helped the tax-collectors of the King and the Brahman land-holders in the collection of taxes by coercive measures and who consented to write the accounts.

Another Vijayanagara inscription of *Saka* 1454 (No. 103 of Stone Inscription of 1906) refers to the 98 castes included in the *Idangai* and *Valangai.* Yet anothter (No. 253 of Stone Inscriptions of 1926 of the Trichinopoly District, of the Vijayanagara period registers an agreeement relating to social conduct among the *Valangai* and *Idangai* sects. The violence that marked the quarrels between the two factions is attested by a stone record, which mentions life on both sides. (No. 185 of 1921). Another record of the Mayavaram Taluk (Tanjore District) of the time of the Dēvarāya I of Vijayanagar refers to a settlement between the *Valangai* 98 and *Idangai* 98 castes regarding the heavy and illegal rates of taxes payable by them. These taxes known as *Inavari* and *Idangaivari* were frequently oppressive and the people had to enter emphatic protests against them; (Inscription No. 476 of 1926 dated Saka 1363, *Akshaya*). According to the evidence of Inscription No. 216 of 1910, also of the Vijayanagara period, the Pallis and the Vanniyars are mentioned as paying the *Idangaivari.*

Mr. M. Srinivasa Iyengar in his *Tamil Studies*, (First Series, 1914,) has given the following table of the castes of the two factions with an indication of their occupations.

| *Occupation.* | *Right-Hand.* | *Left-Hand,* |
|---|---|---|
| Traders. | Balija<br>Banajiga<br>Komati<br>Vellan Chetty | Beri Chetty<br>Vaniyans,<br>(Who yoke two bulls to their oil mills.) |
| Weavers. | Jāndra<br>Sāliyan<br>Seniyan | Dēvānga<br>&<br>Kaikolan |
| Artisans. | Nil | Kammalan<br>Kamsāli<br>Panchalas. |
| Leather workers. | Mādiga or<br>Chakkaliyan<br>(women) | Mādiga<br>(men) |
| Field labourers and others. | Malaiman<br>Nattaman<br>Palli (women)<br>Vēdan or<br>Vēttuvan<br>Paraiyan<br>Mala, and<br>Hōleya | Bēdar<br>Paḷḷi (men)<br>Paḷḷan. |

Some later immigrant castes have been included with Right Hand castes like Gujaratis and Patnulkaras. The Pancham Banajigas of the Canarese country, the Paraiyars of the Tamil Districts and the Mālas of the Andhra country are the most sturdy champions of the Right Hand. They are supplemented by the Hōleyas in Mysore and Canara and the weavers. The Left Hand is led everywhare by the Kammāḷas, Kamsālis or Panchālas with the strong support of the Mādigas and Chakkiliyans. In Malabar these disputes are confined only to the weavers and the Canarese immigrants. Gradually the higher classes seem to have lost zest in these quarrels; and "the dispute is now practically confined to the lowest classes occasionally encouraged by the Kammāḷas." Different views of the origin of the system have been put forth. We have been told that the division arose from a dispute between the principal artificers and the agricultural, mercantile, and other classes; and that "the distinction arises principally from the land owners and their serfs being the heads of one class, and the Brahmans, the artificers, and other interlopers from the other." In Mysore the factions are given the names of *dēśa* (foreign) and *nāḍu* (native), 'and colour is thus lent to the supposition that the division is due to the professional jealousy between the indigenous mercantile community and the larger and more powerfull immigrant traders.

"To call into existence such a powerful and widespread social division, a single cause of small magnitude would never suffice.', Mr. M. Srinivasa Iyengar would say that the distinction originated in the Chola country in the 11th century, when the great Rāja Rāja Chōḷa marshalled his extensive armies into two grand divisons, the first consisting of those men who had won for him victories in all his foreign campaigns and the second composed of new soldiers from the Pandya, Telugu, and Canarese countries who had formerly fought against him. The first class recruited chiefly from the Vēdan, Nattamān, Malayaman, and Paraiya castes, he called the Right Hand army *(Valangai velaikkarar)*, while the latter was made up of Pallans, Pallis, Madigas, and Bedars and was called the Left Hand army. The Pallans, correctly Mallar, formed the Pandiyan army, the Pallis constituted the Pallava army, while the troops of other countries were recruited chiefly from the Bēdars and Madigas or Chakkiliyans". The male members of these military classes were put into the left hand, but their women who could not have naturally taken up arms against Rāja Rāja were

treated as belonging to the Right Hand faction. The inscriptions of Rājēndra Chōḷa prove that this distinction was observed by his army though not so strictly as in his father's time. And by the time of Ādirājēndra Chōla (A. D. 1065) a poll tax was levied on all the male members of both factions who were in a position to use the implements of war. All these clearly prove that the origin of the division was purely of a military or political nature."

Again low castes striving for a higher social position incurred the wrath of the rulers and of the higher castes and were consequently classed with other hostile tribes in the Left Hand division. Such must have been the origin of the classification of the Kammāḷas whose services for temple building etc., made them permanently connected with temples and other religious institutions and consequently clamorous for a higher social status and even aiming at an equal rank with Brahmans. The other prominent castes striving for a higher social stătus were the Kaikōḷas and Dēvāngas and others who were encouraged by the anti-Brahmanical doctrines of Basava, particularly in the Canarese country and adopted uncouth nomenclature from Sanskrít and Canares vocabularies. According to Dr. G. Oppert, there was a third source for the intensification of these divisions. "The influence of the Jains was perhaps the strongest in the towns where the artisan classes form an important portion of the population, while the Brahmans appealed to the land owning and agricultural classes". But the Brahmans have always remained neutral in these divisions; and had the struggle between Brahmanism and Jainism been the essential cause of this division most of the artisans would have adopted the Jaina faith; moreover we do not hear of these divisions prior to the 10th century by which time Brahmanism had consolidated its position. But it is likely that "Jainism an anti-Brahminical religion professed by the enemies of the Chōḷa kings (like Bitti, Deva Hoysala) might have acted as a third canse for the division into the Right and Left Hand factions."

If the Jains had been instrumental in fomenting this division they would have been classed as Left Hand. But they belong in the Mysore country to the Right Hand. The reason for this is explained by a Mysore inscription of A. D. 1368 Brahmans and Jains were fighting for the use of the five big drums and the Kalaśa, a privilege usually exercised by the Right Hand castes; and in that year King Vira Bukka Raya effected a compromise between them and ever since that time the Jains have been admitted as belonging to the Right Hand party.

Colonel Colin Mackenzie had in his *Mss. Collections (Translations* Vol. XLVI, Nos. 29 and 31) traditional accounts as preserved about 1800 A.D., about the origin of the two factions which is as follows. The Nagarattar caste who followed merchandise in the country and Balijawar caste who imported and exported commodities had a dispute as to precedence, which grew more and more intense as time went on, and gathered other castes into the current of the quarrel; the Balijas dragged in the Komatis, Valluvar, Shanar, Pariar, etc. (89 in number) and Nagarattar came to include Chettis, Pallis, Chucklers, Kaikolars etc., (11 in all). The Panchālas or smiths who work upon iron, wood, stone, brass, gold and silver took up the side of the Nagarattar and desisted from carrying on their trade. Then Chola Raja unable to decide the dispute declared that both were on an equal footing. Thereon the Balijavar ceased from importing the necessary things into the country. The Raja then took a *muchilika* from both, which bound them to adhere to his decision, which was made in the temple of Kāmākshi Amman in Conjeevaram. The two divisions stood on the Right and Left side of the Goddess and received the deity's offerings, the one from the right hand of the priest and the other from his left. The Raja gave betel and *areca* nut with his right hand to the one and with his left hand to the other. Each faction was expressly ordered not to enter, with their marriage, funeral, or festival processions, the streets alloted to the other. The castes that were neutral were called *Madyastam* and included Brahmans Patnoolkārars, Kanakkar, Veḷḷālas, Reddis, Tōtier, Marathas, Telugus, Mussalmans, Lubbais, Rajaputs, Pandaram etc. (69 in all). Most of the immigrant communities are regarded as neutral.

A Madras Council Consultation of 6th June 1706 ennumerates the following castes as having been assessed towards the payment for the building of the Black Town Wall and works. Portuguese, Armenians, Chettis, (Beri Chettis) Moor-men, Komatis, Velloਂwar, Balijawar, oil-men, Gellamaniwar, Agamudaiyar, Kamsalawar, Gujaratis, Kaikolas, Karnam, or Kanakkuppillais, Pallis, Saliyas, Chuliars, Washermen, Gollawar, Fishermen, Baboo Coolies, Barbers, Tonnapas caste, Jāndras (Dēvangas) Wodders, Andi Chettis, Potters, Mukkuvas, Brahmans, and *Catamaran*-men. (Page 55. Fort St. George *Diary and Consultation Book* of 1706.)

The faction fights between the two classes were frequent in Madras till the close of the eighteenth century and seem to have diminished in violence by the beginning of the next century and practically disappeared in its early decades.

# A NEWLY DISCOVERED Ms OF BALA-GOPALA-STUTIH BY BILVA MANGALA SVAMI.

O. C. GANGOLY, EDITOR: "RUPAM".

When in August last, I read the excellent and illuminating note on Bilvamangala Svāmi and his works by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi in the pages of this *Journal* (Literary Gleanings No. 9, Vol. III, part I July 1928, p. 66—71), little did I imagine that I would come across within a couple of weeks, an *èdition de luxe* of the *Bāla Gōpāla stutih* by the poet-saint, in the form of an old, illustrated manuscript profusely illuminated by miniatures. Yet this was exactly my good fortune, and I hasten to bring this to the notice of scholars and readers of this Quarterly and particularly of Mr. Kavi, to whom all lovers of Sanskrit literature are heavily indebted for the valuable information, that he is publishing, gleaned from unpublished sources, on various obscure nooks and corners of Sanskrit literature.

The Ms in question is written on paper of the size of 9½″ × 4⅛″ and bears on each page, generally on the left side, the text of the hymn in seven or eight lines, with a miniature illustration of one or other episodes from *Krishna-līlā*. On the back of each page is also written a portion of the text which appears to be continued from page to page. The Ms contains about 30 folios each bearing a miniature illustration of the size of 5¾″ × 4⅛″. Illustrated Indian Mss, particularly in Sanskrit are so rare, that this discovery must be hailed as a very unique example in which the calligrapher and the artist, (it is difficult to say if they are the same person here) have colloborated to produce what must be regarded as a valuable jewel of Vaishnava culture. I had not the opportunity to examine the text minutely, the point of view of my study being æsthetic, rather than literary, or linguistic. But I received a thrill of delight when I read the colophon, on the last page, which I reproduce here, and on the plate opposite. It runs thus:—

इति श्री परमहंसप्रव्राजक श्रीपाद बिल्वमंगल विरचित श्री बालगोपाल स्तुतिः।
इति माध(व) पुराणे भगवत् वाक्यम्॥

There is a curious information in the colophon that this hymn forms part of what is called *Mādhava-purāna.* I am not aware of any *purāna* of this name and it certainly does not find place in the list of

A Page from a Manuscript of
VĀLA-GOPĀLA-STUTI,
with colophon, dated circa 1425 A. D.

But he really belongs to the whole of India, and it is well known that his *Kṛishṇa Karṇāmṛita* hymns are sung all over India. This Ms of *Bāla Gopāla stutih*, hailing as it does from some parts of Southern Rajputana or Guzarat, one of the important strongholds of Vaishṇava culture, attests the popularity of the great poet-Saint of the South and his hymns, in a distant corner of India. In the development of Vaishṇava culture the part of Southern saints and hagiologists is very important, and many of them must have attained an all-India status. As Mr. Kavi has proved and our Ms here, happily corroborates, Lilāsuka was undoubtedly one of the saints who reigned over the hearts of faithful Vaishṇavas all over India. In Bengal his popularity is attested by a popular drama, repeatedly staged in Calcutta, a decade ago, with unqualified success.

# THE EVOLUTION OF THE BRAHMINICAL HEIRARCHY IN ANCIENT INDIA:

S. BIMASANKARA RAO, B.A.

*Continued from page 110 of Vol. III.*

## FALL OF THE BRAHMIN HIERARCHY AND GROWTH OF BUDDHISM.

### XX

In our last lecture we have traced the origin of the Brahminical hierarchy and sketched its growth and development up to the end of what is known in Ancient India as the period Sūtra literature. We have seen how the Brahmin Ṛshis of old have consolidated their power and influence and how they had built up the great Aryan-Socio-religious fabric which still endures to this day though not in its pristine glory and vigour. Let us follow the fortunes of this Brahmin priest-hood in the subsequent ages, and how they fared in the estimation of the peoplet Before proceeding further, it is necessary to take a preliminary survey of the state of society and conditions prevailing about the time of the birth of the Buddha (circa) 563 B.C. It is essential for proper appreciation of the historical sequence of events that we should be acquainted with social and religious ideals which permeated the Aryan Hindu Society at that time, or in other words, what were the conditions prevailing jus before the dawn of Buddism, about the 7th or 6th century B. C.

During the Epic times the Brahmin presthood was still inferio. in status and social position to the Aryan Kshatriya nobility but gradually it acquired an influence as the real power behind the throne and the Brahmins counsel and advice was regarded with undoubted respect and veneration, to be followed implicitly. It has already been stated that the Brahmin had become an indispensable factor in all the ordinary events of life and his support and assistance was sought after by all classes of people. The Brahmin rshis of old were not only the Spiritual preceptors of the Royalty, but also the secular teachers of the people. By this intellectual superiority, by his severe self discipline, by the high principle of his moral and ethical standard of life, by his disinterested labours for the uplift of the mankind, the Brahmin rose to a position of supremacy and eminence, and commanded the respect and adoration of both the prince and peasant alike. It is these Brahmin *rshis* of old that devised

the whole political social and religious fabric of the Indo-Aryan community and built up the edifice of Hindu civilization and culture upon immutable standards and ideals of life which still dominate at the present day. The great *Sūtra* literature of the period attests to this fact. Though it may appear to be a little bit of a digression yet it seems appropriate here to refer to the two divergent schools of religious thought which dominated the ancient Aryan society and which still prevails at the present day.

The two great divergent schools of religious thought namely, Vaishnavism and Saivism, gradually came to prominence and developed their theories in course of time, as ages advanced. At what period of ancient history, these two opposing schools of religious thought had their starting point and took concrete shape, is a matter well worth historical investigation. The Vedic Gods who figure prominently in the Vedas, to whom prayers were offered and in whose honour sacrifices were performed, whose assistance was sought in suppressing the Non-Aryan Dasyus and whose blessings were constantly invoked for abundant rain and growth of their corps,—Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, Mitra and a host of others have gradually fallen into disuse and in their place Brahma, Vishṇu, Śiva, the famous Hindu Trinity of Gods came into prominence. The religious idea and conception of this triple unity of God-head can be essentially traced to the Aryan Brahmin *rshis*, though the Vishṇu form of cult had always been favoured by the Aryan-Kshatriya nobility and the Kshatriya king had always been identified as the vice-gerent of Vishṇu on earth.

Both Śiva and Vishṇu were originally conceived as mountain deities about the time of the philosophical concepts formulated by the Upanishads and they were introduced into Indo-Aryan cosmogony when the phenomena of the tropical regions had begun to shape their ideas Vishṇu the great mountain upon which the Aryan tribesmen would often build their chieftain's fort was always identified with the interests of the Kshatriya nobility and was regarded as their patron deity. Even now all Kshatriyas are *Vishṇu bhaktas* and they wear Vishṇu symbols-though Śavite Brahmins officite at their household ceremonies. Gradually this materialistic conception of the great mountain has developed the idea of an all pervading spirit of life and it was considered as the pivot or the axis of all cosmic forces and thus Nārāyaṇa came to repre sent all those powers of nature consequent on the development of ideas of Vedic deities. Śiva also was regarded as the great mountain God residing on the top of Himalayas with his consort, Umā-Pārvati and he was both a creator and destroyer. The religious and spiritual ideas

associated with the names of Vishṇu and Śiva have gradually developed by the Aryan Brahmins and Kshatriyas and they were all embodied in their daily life. The construction of the Indo Aryan village and its temple clearly illustrate and symbolise the wheel of life according to these conceptions and the *Śilpaśāstras* lay down all the injunctions to be observed in the construction of the temples and villages of the Indo-Aryan communities. The development of ideas naturally brings on a change in the nomenclature of the deities which are the objects of worship. The primitive Aryan Nature worship of Elements gradually gave place to abstract ideas of eternity and life, birth and death, leading to the concepts of Brahma as Creator of life, Vishṇu as the preserver of life and Śiva as destroyer of life and theologically these opposites, life and death, creation and destruction were linked together and were centred in Nārāyaṇa who represents the eternity of life. A further expansion of these concepts is to be found in the Trinity of Spirit *Sat-Chit-Ānanda* and in the trinity of matter, *Satva-Rajas-Tama*, upon which the whole of Hindu philosophical and theological systems have been devised. The symbolism of the ancient Aryan religious thought upon which all Indian philosophical concepts are based reveals clearly Śaiva and Vaishṇava distinctions from the very beginning and to the philosopher, Vishṇu and Śiva are two concepts representing two different logical processes, the Inductive and Deductive, belonging two different schools of Indian Thought. The Śaiva school of Thought depends on *Śrti* or divine realisation or in other words upon intuition and inspiration while the Vaishṇava school of Thought stands on *Smṛti* reasoned knowledge and the law of Cause and Effect based upon the facts of human experience. The Kshatriya thinkers being essentially men of action generally adhered to the Vaishnava school of thought while the Brahmin philosophers mostly belonged to the Saiva school. The earliest monuments of Indo Aryan architecture clearly disclose the lines of cleavage which separate these two great sectarian groups representing Śiva and Vishṇu cults, as their respective temples with *Stūpas* and *Śikharas* indicate. The *Stūpa* is a reliquary or a funera monument and represents a symbol of Death while the *Śikhara* shrine represents a symbol of Life. In fact *Stūpa* is a Saiva Symbol while *Śikhara* is Vaishnavaite one. If we can trace back the origin of this symbolic temple architecture we find that the Vaishnava cult was undoubtedly of Kshatriya origin closely connected with the primitive hero-worship and loyalty to the tribal chieftain. The Saivas are the intellectuals heirs of the Brahman philosophy based upon *Jñāna-mārga*, the path of knowledge while the Kshatriyas who were men of action adhered to the Vaishnava school of thought based on *Bhakti mārga*. Reference may also be made to another historical view of Saivism.

The original population of Ancient India before the Aryan colonisation were Dravidians and they were Saivites. Especially in the South, Saivism was prominent. Rāvaṇa, the king of Lanka was a Saivite and all the *Rākshasas* are Saivites. They indulged in various forms of demonolatory, in the worship of Evil Spirits by means of body sacrifices and frantic dances such as the worship of Naṭarāja. The aryanisation gradually reached upon the original religious system of the Aryans. The different form of this demon worship shaped, moulded and refined by Aryan thought gave rise to Saivism. There can be no doubt that the Phallic emblem, which was an object of veneration among the Dravidians and the aborgines of ancient India was subsequently adopted by the Brahmins and associated it with the worship of Rudra, who was the storm god of *Rig Vēda.* In the *Yajur Vēda* he receives the appellations of Īsāna, Īśvara, and Mahādēva, by which he is still popularly known. He is also represented in the *Yajur Vēda* as the patron deity of all Industrial workers such as, Carpenters, Blacksmiths, who are still Savites. During the times of the *Atharvana Veda* the the God Rudra gained in importance in popular worship, more as a terrible than as a beneficient God and his being coupled with God Agni as the author of destruction is more frequent. It is not possible to trace historically by what exact steps, the Vedic Rudra has been transferred into Mahādēva. The fusion of Aryan and non Aryan conceptions of this divinity perhaps led to his representation in a twofold character— the terror-inspiring as well as the auspicious and beneficient. His wife appears also in a similar double character *Uma* the graceous is also *Kāli* the horrible. The Genesis of Vishṇu is also obscure as that of Śiva. Vishnu is the name of Sun-god in *Rig Veda* and is of Soverign rank in common with other deties. But he gradually became the chief in the later Vedic literature. Vedic literature knows no *avatars* of Vishṇu and we find a reference to Krishna, the son of Dēvaki, in an ancient Upanishad, not as an *avatar* of Vishnu but only as the disciple of a sage. The popularisation of Vedic Vishṇu and Vedic Rudra must be a century or two before the Christian era as the earliest authentic references to Saivism and Vaishnavism do not carry us beyond that period. It would be no doubt highly interesting to pursue this historical enquiry into the origin, growth and development of these two divergent schools of religious thought, but it is enough for our purpose to notice the distinction and the lines of cleavage which are apparent and visible from the beginning in the development of these two cults. To resume our theme: we have seen how the Brahmin priesthood acquired great power and influence by dint of intellectual ability, honesty of purpose and high integrity of character. The *Sūtra* literature clearly discloses an earnest attempt on their part to build up a sound stable system of religious,

social and political institutions to endure for ever. There can be no question and no two opinions are possible on the matter that the entire social, religious and political fabric of the Aryan community was built-up by the far seeing indefeatigable and disinterested labours of the Brahmin Ṛshis of old. But any system devised by the wit of man,, however perfect it may be cannot be infalliable and must in course of time show signs of decay and disintegration. It cannot be expected that the descendants of the great Aryan Brahmin Ṛshis of old, Vasishṭa Viśvāmitra, Bhāradvāja, Atri, and others would maintain the same standared of high integrity of character and intellectual eminence, necessary to command the respect of every one and all. In course of time the Theocracy founded by the Brahmin hierarchy of priesthood developed a conservation of a highly despotic and oppressive form, claiming itself to be under divine sanction, and the Brahmin heirarchy became the obstinate conservators of traditional laws, customs and institutions, and developed large vested interests both in church and state, as if it had been handed down to them from their ancestors as sacred heirlooms and to which they would cling tenaciously for all times to come defying all opposition, always endeavouring to agument and enlarge their vested interests and emoluments. All conservatism must necessarily lead to stagnation and is an obstacle for all progress. When organised group of men develope vested interests, they will be guarded then, from all encroachment by others and preserved so that the same might be handed down to their heirs and descendants, and it is no wonder but is only common human experience that the Brahmin priesthood who acquired power and influence by reason of their higher intellectual ability and energy should make it a close preserve for themselves keeping it safe from all outside attack. When the Brahmin priesthood became an organised intellectual force, it easily acquired a leading position in political affairs hitherto held by Kshatriyas and in ministering to the relig ous needs of the Aryan community they established for themselves a monopoly of all knowledge which lent itself to unscrupulous exaction and to the encouragement of grossest superstitions. One of the most potent influences by which they exploited the credulity of the masses is the power of sacred *mantram* and the belief in the divine power of sacrifice, the efficacy of which depended largely upon the *Dakshina* paid to the officiating priests. The ancient Vedic idea of the divine power of speech which made Sarasvati, the Goddess of learning a *Śakti* or an active force had developed into the philosophical concept of *mantram* as the human expression of the Etheric vibrations which permeate space and was the first knowable cause of the creation itself. A *mantram* is a Sanskrit formulæ composed of a certain sequence of sounds and rythm which is

said to control the Etheric vibrations and produce effects beneficial or reverse to the persons or objects concerned. It was the prevailing belief that this *mantram* embodied in itself, the dynamic principle of the universe and its aid was frequently invoked in all the daily concerns of life for weal or woe, and no person was more competant to utilize this *mantram* than the Brahmin priesthood which led to many superstitions. From the earliest Vedic times people believed in the efficacy of the power of sacrifice, which led to the performance of sacrificial rites, which the Brahmin expert priesthood were not slow to take advantage of. The extension of the Vedic sacrificial ritual to every concern of public and private life has enlarged the field for the operation of the Brahmin priesthood. Every Aryan householder had to fulfil certain domestic sacrificial rites at the time of birth, death and marriage, besides on many other sundry occasions such as *Chavulam* and *Upanayanam.* Public sacrifices such as *yajña, adhvara, chayana, poundarika,* and *rāja-sūya* and *aśvamēdha* sacrifices gave ample field for the requisition of the services of the Brahminical priesthood.

The endless sacrificial ceremonies requiring the attendance of and ministration by the Brahmin priesthood on almost all occasions, both private and public, domestic and social, has invested them with a halo of religious sanctity and people looked upon them with great reverence and awe. Add to this there is the indiscriminate slaughter of animals and the drinking of the intoxicating juice of the *Sōma* plant. The political conditions of the times also do not show that there was a great central paramount power to which other states and principalities owned allegience. There were all Tribes and Chieftains owning sway over particular pieces of the country and there were 16 such small states as described in the Purāṇas and Buddhist literature. Nor do we find any *Chakravarti* or *Sāmrāt* weilding supreme sovereign authority over the country during the 6th and 7th centuries B.C. prior to the advent of the Buddha. There can be no doubt that the Brahmin dominated the society to a very large extent. These Brahmins were very clever people and when once they saw their position slippery and their ground loosing they adjusted themselves to the situation. We find them in order to overcome all Kshatriya opposition adopting Vishnu, the patron deity of the Kshatriya clans, as their own God and begining to worship him, for they declared the celebrated dictum *Nā Vishnuprithivī patih.* They soon raised the Kshatriya tribal heroes Rāma and Krishṇa to the rank of demi-Gods and admitted them to the Hindu pantheon and began to worship them as *avatars* of Vishṇu. We can thus very easily see the predominent influence and position which the Brahmin has acquired in society. If this Brahmin had made a proper use of his position and influence as representing the cream of the Aryan intellectual society

and if he had lived up to the high standard set up by himself and his forefathers, certainly there would have been no difficulty.

If the high ideals of purity and altruism ordained by the laws of Manu have been implicity obeyed as the guiding principle of Brahminhood there would have been no cause of complaint against him. If it had been possible to restrict the privileges of the Brahmin priesthood to those only who are fully qualified to exercise them but not to others though born in Brahminical circles, society would have tolerated the Brahmin to any extent. The accident of birth in Brahmin family made him supreme without the necessary qualification. Gradually the Brahmin began to deteriorate and degeneration crept in. The Brahmin began to abuse his position and to exploit the masses for his own self-aggrandisement The slaughter of animals during the various sacrifices coupled with the exaction of *Dakshina*, the tyranny and oppression practised by the Brahminical priesthood in the exploitation of the masses and in increasing their superstitions and creduilty naturally produced a reaction in the public mind and a repugnance of his acts which involved the shedding of the blood of innocent animals.

Under these conditions of society any new doctrine which appeals to the deep religious instinct of the people which removed the terror of the *mantram* and the heavy burden of the sacrificial ritual imposed by the Brahminical priesthood was welcomed by the people. No one was better qualified and equipped to preach this new doctrine and make this appeal to the people than that of a young Kshatriya prince Siddhārtha, Goutama, a scion of the Sākya clan who renounced all dearest family ties and abandoned wealth and a kingdom, to discover a better rule of life for the people of Āryāvarta than that propounded by the Brahmin priesthood. The young Kshatriya prince learnt all the Brahminical lore, sitting at the feet of the Brahmin sages, studied all the Brahmanical philosophy, and further in order aoquire a deep insight into the mysteries of the universe, learnt and practised the ritual of Yōga and performed the serverest penance with the object of seeking divine knowledge through mortification of the body. After undergoing though all the privations of religious study and meditation, he started to preach the doctrine of the Aryan eight fold path of right living, thinking and acting. Goutama Buddha was able to defeat the Brahmin logician and philosopher in the public debating halls of Āryāvarta with his own weapons. He disputed the Vedic theory of ritual and sacrifice and exposed the pretensions of the Brahminical priesthood while unpholding Aryan traditions and institutions. The exclusive Brahmin cult hedged round with the closest restrictions, to prevent the intrusion of

the vulgar multitude has been broken up and he opened the doors of Aryan religion to satisfy the spiritual desires of the masses by offering them a religious law easy to understand free from elaborate and costly ceremonial, thus raising the social status of the lower orders. He started a vigorous crusade against the sacrificial cult and asserted that it was not the sacrifice of animals but the suppression of all evil desires that would lead to *Nirvāṇa*. The magnetic personality of Goutama Buddha, coupled with the deep human feeling which his teaching had inspired captivated the people's minds and he organised the famous Buddhistic *sanghā*; a secular Aryan brotherhood into which all classes were welcomed.

Buddha's mission and propoganda had vigorously attacked the vested interests of the Brahminical priesthood which aroused their bitter hostility and it was a re-organization of the Aryan society on a wider basis and a re-adaptation of the religious thought to the spiritual needs of the time. The *Dharma* of Vedic ritual and *mantram* and sacrifice was replaced by the *Dharma* of right living and right thinking and by clearing the spiritual atmosphere of superstition and priestly obscurantism, it paved the way and laid the foundations of the great Mauryan Empire.

It is not our purpose to discuss the tenets and Philosophy of the great Buddhistic religion but our purpose is to ascertain how far it was able to supplant the Brahminical hierarchy and its priesthood and how it caught on the minds of the people and became a wide spread religion. The main cause for its general prevelance and adoption is to be found in the social and religious tyranny exercised by the Brahminical priesthood and the deep revulsion caused by their animal sacrifices in the public mind and the moral and ethical principles of the Buddaha's teaching found wider acceptance among the generality of the public. The first onslaught against the Brahminical hierarchy was started by Mahāvīra Vardhamāna the founder of the Jain sect who first repudiated the theory of Vedas, denounced the cruelty of animal sacrifices and proclaimed a religion of universal love and brotherhood. Though it was not able to supplant Buddhism, yet it was able to secure the support of many Brahmins and Kshatriyas.

*(To be continued.)*

# HISTORY OF RAJAHMUNDY.

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO, B.A., B.L.

(*Continued from p. 170 of Vol. 8.*)

Of Badaparaja's reign we have very few events to narrate. He was doubtless on the throne for a period of twenty seven years which is usually regarded as the *interregnum*, the period without a king, in their history, by the later Eastern Chalukyas. He was indeed a powerful king and a wise stateman, able enough to remain secure on the throne for such a long and uninterrupted period. Though we have no materials to state, yet his reign must have been a prosperous one, if not a peaceful one. In spite of the fact that he divided his kingdom between himself and his brother and placed him as his viceroy over the southern dominions[130] and thus averted the possible treachery at home, there were still some dissient elements who longed for the restoration of the senior branch of the royal family on the throne. Dānārnava's children, Śaktivarman and Vimalāditya were still alive, though wandering from one court to another as helpless exiles seeking assitance to regain their lost throne. There were still in the country powerful and loyal supporters of Dānārnava's children who eagerly longed for an oppor tunity to rise in revolt and drive out Bādapa and his followers. The country was in a state of perpetual readiness for a revolt, and a suppressed revolutionary element prevailed as in the previous reigns; and on this occasion too, the king sat on the throne under a constant threat of invasion from abroad by his rival claimants and a revolt of their confederates at home. Bādaparāja was quite alert and alive to the dangers at home and abroad and his great statesmenship lay in the fact that he kept strict survillance over the treacherous enemies of his cause. By liberal grants of fiefs to his trustworthy and loyal commanders, Bādapa could enjoy complete peace and co-operation at home, and it was not till the last days of Bādapa that any attempt to rise in revolt was made by his opponents.

Prince Dānārnava, as we have seen alredy, had still left two sons, Śaktivarma and Vimalāditya, born of Āryamahādēvī.[131] These

130. Srîpûndi plates of Tâlarâja (II): See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIX. p. 147 ff.

131. *A. R.* for *Ep.* 1918, p. 132: *C. P. grant* No. 15 of 1917—1918.

princes were long exiles from their native country, waiting for a favourable opportunity to regain their lost kingdom. They had now secured the support of Tailapadēva, the Western Chālukya king of Kalyān, who had lately retrieved the fortuues of his house and destroyed the last vestiges of the declining power of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. It was in the wars of Tailapadēva agains the Chōḷas of the South and the Rāshṭrakūṭās of the Dekhan, that Śaktivarma and his brother proved themselves to be his useful allies. Śaktivarma, appears to have invaded his native country during the latter part of Bādapa's reign. about 998 A. D., if not earlier still, and carried on a protracted war, in which he finally overthrew and killed Bādapa, and made himself master of the country.[132] Unfortunately we do not know of any events that took place in the last years of Bādapa's reign. The death of Bādapa about the year A, D. 999, easily paved the way for the restoration of the senior line of the royal house, to the throne. Śaktivarma crowned himself king sometime in 999 A.D.[133] and is the first of that name in the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. In this attempt he seems to have been greatly assisted by the Western Chālukya king Satyāśraya, son and successor of Tailapadēva, the founder of the Western Chālukya kingdom of Kalyān[134]. Curiously enough some scholars are of opinion that Śaktivarama I, was greatly assisted by the great Chōla monarch, Rājarāja I. Their conclusion is based on the solitary fact, *viz.*, the synchronising of the so-called Chōḷa invasion of Vēngīdēśa in the *fourteenth* year of Rājarāja Chōla, with the accession of Prince Śaktivarama I. to the throne of Rājamahēndravaram in A. D. 999, the death of Bādaparāja and the close of the '*interregnum*'. This assumption is based upon the statements in the Chōla grants of the time and also upon a solitary Victory Pillar inscription found on the summit of the Mahēndragiri, which was set up by Rājēndra Chōḷa, alias Gangaikondan, son of Rājarāja the Great.[135] There is absolutely no doubt that the statements in the Chōḷa grants are false pretensions. They are utterly uncorroborated by other events of the times. On the contrary it is interesting to note that the contemporary events go to establish beyond doubt that the Chōḷa invasion by Rājarāja, if it was really an in vasion, was only a feeble and utterly unsuceseful attempt on the part of the rising Southern Power to occupy Vēngi. It might be also a small expedition sent to the north in order to

132. Pabhubarru Grant of grant of Saktivarma I. See *Journal* of the Telugu Academy, Vol. II, p. 399 ff.

133. Ibid.

134. Vide the remarks of late *Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIX, p. 147 ff.

135. *Ep.*Nos. 396 & 397 of 1896. See also para 18, page 7 of *A. Rep.* for *Ep.* 1896.

assist Bādaparāja, who was then reduced to desperate straits on account of Śaktivarma's invas'on from the west. The Victory-Pillar inscription on the Mahēndragiri hill has been misread and then made use of to support the theory of the Chōḷa invasion and intervention at the time of Śaktivarma's accession to the throne. In that inscription, Rajēndra Chōḷa alias Gangaikondan claims to have defeated one Vimalāditya, who has been wrongly assumed to be the selfsame Eastern Chālukya prince of that name. the younger brother of Śaktivarma I.[136] Scholars have stretched their imagination a little further, and assumed that Vimalāditya was taken captive in war at that time, carried to the Chōḷa capital and there after sometime married to Kundavāmba daughter of Rājarāja I.[137] This taking of Vimaladitya as captive of war is certainly gratuitous and has no foundation in history. A careful examination of the Mahendragiri pillar inscription clearly reveals that Vimalāditya mentioned in it was an obscure prince of the *Kulūṭa* country of the North, and not certainly the Eastern Chālukya prince, and that he was not taken captive in war or carried to Tanjāvūr. At any rate it is indeed amusing to see that Southern historians have made their proud Chōḷa monarch, the great Rājarāja, give his daughter in marriage to the humbled and prisoner Vimaladitya of Eastern Chālukya dynasty, because it suited them to claim a Chōla conquest of Vēngi.

It has been suggested further, without any authority whatsoever, that there was revolution and disorder consequently in Vengi country, about the closing years of Bādapa's reign, i.e., about 998—999 A. D., and that at that time Rājarāja I. sent his son Gangaikondan or his grand-son Jaṭāchōḍa on an expedition to the north with instructions to reduce and annex Vēngi to the Chola dominions and also to put down the rival claimants in the country to the throne.[138] This Chōḷa invasion of Vēngi, in A. D. 999 is the first event in the history of the relations of the Chōḷas of the South and the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēngi; and if really there was any revolution and disorder in the capital Rājamahēndrapura, or in the country, as has been suggested, one is at a loss to understand how and why the great Chōḷa monarch waited till the fourteenth year of his reign, quietly biding all the time and foolishly ignoring the period of the so called *interregum*, only to invade Vēngidēśa about the fag end of Bādapa's reign. The synchonising of Śaktivarma's accession to the

136. Ibid.

137. Dr.S. K. Aiyengar is *Ancient India.* p.p. 45, 104 & 115 See also Rai Bahadur V. Vēnkayya's remarks in his note on the Ranastipūndi grant of Vimalāditya: *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI p. 348 ff. See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 272 ff.

138. Ibid.

throne in A.D. 999, with the so called 'invasion' of the Chōḷa king in that year has been the basis for our imaginative historians to weave out a story and suggest that after all Śaktivarma I. had obtained the throne through the help of the Chōḷas, and that the captive prince Vimalāditya was carried away and wedded to Kundava ! But the truth seems to be the other way. We have seen from a statement in Bādapa's own grant [139] that he obtained the kingdom through the help of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and maintained himself on the throne with the assistance of some of the treacherous relations of Ammarāja II. It seems that about the close of his reign, Śaktivarma who was biding for a favourable opportunity invaded and occupied a portion of the country with the help of his Western Chālukyan ally Satyaśraya and Bādapa who had lost his allies on the west owing to the extinction of the Rāshṭrakūṭa power, turned to the South to the rising Chōḷas for his assistance in that hour of invasion. The Chōḷas, too, who were bitter enemis of the Western Chālukyas, saw an opportunity to defeat their enemy's plans and crush them in this war on the north. Accordingly an expeditionary force was sent under Jaṭā Chōḍa, a son of Gangaikonda in all probability with instructions to make the best use of the opportunity, The records of Śaktivarma, clearly show that the Chōḷas were defeated severely and beaten back about the year 999 A. D. [140]. Once Śaktivarma I, made himself secure on the throne, the Chōḷas gave up their hostile attitude towards him and with a clear vision of the future, entered into an alliance with the Eastern Chālukyas by giving their daughter Kundava in marriage to the *Yuvarāja* Vimalādityā. This alliance by marriage, soon became strong and lasting, for the Eastern Chālukyas of Rājamahēndravaram, stood steadily and loyally by the side of the Chōḷas in their wars with the Western Chālukyas of Kalyan in the next century, and then finally merged themselves in the Chōḷas loosing their individuality in the Andhra Country, within three generations from Śaktivarma I. The Eastern Chālukyas ceased to rule in Rājamahēndravaram as such and became the Chālukya-Chōḷas of the South.

139. Vide *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIX. p. 137 ff. L. 17 of the Arumbâka Grant,

आश्रित्य कर्णराजाख्यवल्लभं बादपाधिपः विनिर्गमय्य तन्देशादम्मराजाख्यमुज्जितं

140. C. P. Grant No, 15 of 1917—18.

बाल्ये कीत्तिकलाभि चौलिकरणे येन व्रणोद्भासिना।

येनात्युद्धत बद्देमाधिपमहाराजया विद्रता:

रावणप्रतिनाधिः चालुक्यनारायणे नापाद्दिषतापियेनानिधनं श्रीचोडभीमाधिपः ॥

See also lines 39 to 42 in the Pabhu barru grant of the king and Note 132 above.

To resume the story of Śaktivarma I. : The king's records tell us that he ' rose to fame even in his youth by his victory in a battle with the Chōḷas, when he killed many of the enemy's elephants single handed with his sword ".[141] He also claims to have defeated and killed one Chōḍa Bhīma and a great warrior sent by him, [142] and to have defeated Jatāchōḍa and destrōyed his armies.[143] Saktivaram I. it is said, assumed the title of *Chālukya Nārāyana*, after slaying Chōḍa Bhima in a battle, who died like Rāvaṇa.[144] Chōḍa Bhima, has not been identified, but it is possible to assume that he belonged to the family of the Telugu Chōdas who were lords of the *Kolanu vishaya* or the 'Lake District,' i.e. the country lying in the vicinty of Kollēru to the east of Vēngīpura and Rendulūru Vishāya. Jāta Chōḍa is no other than Jaṭā varma Chōla, a yonger son of Rājēndra Chōḷa, who was afterwards appointed to the viceroyalty of the Pāndya country [145] after Rājēndra Chōḷa had conquered it. This prince is also known as Sundara Pāndya Jaṭāvarma in history to denote that he was the ruler of the Pāndya country. Though it is not known with any certainity when Śaktivarma I. had slain Bhīma Chōḍa and repulsed Jaṭā Chōda. it is probable that these events took place at sometime before the accession of Śaktivarma to the throne. Bhīma Chōḍa might be a vassal and cammander of Bādapā's armies and Jaṭā Chōḍa, the Chōḷa prince who was sent by his granfather to assist Bādapa in his wars with Śaktivarma. The death of Bhīma Chōḍa and the repulsion or destruction of the Chōla armies, were realy great and important events in the career of Śaktivarma, for soon after this, he crowned himself king, in A. D. 999.

It seems therefore clear from the foregoing, that Śaktivarma I, who had, since the beginning of his career, been an inveterate enemy of the Chōḷas, could not have sought their assistance in his fight for the throne, Again If Bādaparāja was an ally of the Rāshtrakūṭas, through whose help he could become king of Vēngīmanḍala and remain on the throne for over quarter of a century, Śaktivarma could not have befriended himself with them, the enemis of his house. Nor could he have asked the Chōḷas to come to his aid when he was fighting them ever since his youth, according to his own statements, in all probability as an ally of the Western Chālukya king Tailapadēva. The only power, therefore, that could have assisted him at that time, was that of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyān, who had just overthrown the last of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and begun to bid for power in the Dekhan and the South. The powerful ally with whose assistance Śaktivarma defeated and killed

141. Ibid. 142. Ibid. 143. Ibid. 144. Ibid.
145. Thie Jaṭâvarma Sundara Chôla Pânḍya was Viceroy of Pânḍya and Kerala countries from 1021—1044 A. D.

Bādapa and his Chōḷa allies could only be Satyāśraya surnamed *Akalankacharita* and *Irivibedanga*, who ruled form A.D. 997 to 1008, son and successor of *Āhavamalla* Nūrmaḍi Tailapadēva II.[146] (A.D. 973-4—996-7). It cannot be therefore true to say that Rājarāja the Great or his son Rājēndra Chōḷa invaded and restored order in Vēngī, by defeating and slaying Bādaparāja and placing Śaktivarma I. on the throne. There was no occasion for that; and what is more, even the contemporary Chōḷa records do not throw out such a suggestion. As we have remarked already the marriage of Vimaladityā with Kundava was a later event, brought about by the altered circumstances of the times, some time after Saktivarma's accession to the throne. The marriage itself might have taken place sometime prior to A. D, 1010, and most probably in the earlier part of Saktivarma's reign.

Śaktivarma I. appears to have died in A.D. 1011, after a brief but successful reign of twelve years.[147] His reign is a period of continuous warfare as we can easily gather from the records of the king himself, for he appears to have had a hard time in quelling the disorderly elements in the kingdom.[148] Though Bādapa was dead, there were left still many of his followers who gave him no little trouble. The powerful nobles of the realm required a strong man to keep them down constantly and luckily Śaktivarma had all the qualities which the occasion demanded. On one occasion, it is said that the head of the village of Pabhubaṟṟu, a descendant of the one appointed by Ammarāja II. revolted and probably fought openly for the sons of Bādapa after their father's death or harboured them in his village, and that Śaktivarma I. immediately punished him by driving him out of the country and seizing all his properties and giving them away with his fief (village of Pabhubaṟṟu) to Dādi-Bhīma, one of the most trusted and brave officers that served him loyally during the time of war and suffered great troubles in his (king's) cause.[149]

It appears Śaktivarma died fighting his rebellious chieftains in A.D. 1011 and without leaving any children behind him. During his reign merchants from Vēngīmaṇḍala appear to have carried on commercial relations with countries beyond the Bay of Bengal and the lands lying along the coast of the China Sea, for we have discovered golden coins of the king in far off Arakan, Pegu and Siam.[150] The king therefore must have taken a great interest in the maritime activity

146. *Dynasties of the Canarese Districts* p. 428
147. Ranastipuṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI p. 348 ff.
148. Pabhubarru grant of S'aktivarma I. and also *C.P.* No. 15 of 1917—18.
149. Ibid.
150. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 79—82.

of his countrymen and greatly encouraged the establishment of commercial colonies on the other side of the Bay of Bengal. Unfortunately we do not know more of this prince who took such great interest in the expansion of Andhra culture and trade in the east and the far east.

At the time of Śaktivarman's death his brother and heir-apparent, Vimalāditya seems to have been away from the capital, Rājamahēndravaram, enjoying probably the honeymoon of his recently celebrated marriage or the festivites attendant on the birth of his illustrious son Rāja Rāja Narēndra, at the Chōḷa court, for we hear of him recording certain gifts of money to *Panchanādeśvarasvāmi* in Tiruvaiyyur sometime after the death of his brother, i.e. in A.D. 1012-3, in the twenty ninth year of his father-in-law's reign.[151] Curiously enough he had by that time no royal titles even though it is stated in a record issued eight years later that he was publicly annointed king on Thursday, 10th May A. D. 1011 corresponding to the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vrishabha, in the Śaka Samvat 933, in the Pushya *nakshatra*, and in the Simha *lagna*, i.e. at sunrise.[152] This fact is indeed inexplicable. it might be that he was doubtless crowned king of Vengi in the Chōḷa capital but that might be only in name. Though he was *de jure* successor to the throne, Vimalāditya does not seem to have actually commenced to reign from his capital at Rājamahēndravaram til. four years later, i.e., 1114-5 A.D.[153]. And that seems to be the reason why the duration of his reign was given as seven years only in the records of his son and grandson. It therefore appears that at the time of his brother's death, Vimalāditya was in the Chōḷa country, and though he had heard of his brother's death he could not immediately return to Rājamahēndrapura till two years later: The delay in returning to Vēngī and assuming the power, might be due to the treachery of the nobles of the realm after the death of his brother. But it seems certain that till A. D. 1013 Vimalāditya was in Tanjore or Tiruvaiyyur—waiting probably for the help of the Chōḷa king, his father-in-law to return to his country. It might be that at this time that Rājēndra Chōḷa accompanied his brother-in-law to Rājamahēndravaram and having placed him on the throne proceeded towards north and crushed the rebellious feudatories in Northern Andhra and Kalinga countries and restored peaced and order. The Mahendragiri pilliar inscription of Rājēndra Chōḷa, which we had occassion to refer to previously might belong to this period i.e., A.D. 1014-5, and it may be assumed

151. *Ep.*No. 215 of 1894, dated in the 29th year of his father-in-laws reign (Rājarāja I) in A. D. 1012—13.

152. Ranastipundi pund of Vimalāditya.

153 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 273.

that Rājēndra Chōḷa's invasion of Kalinga might be due to the troubles that arose in the Kalinga capital after the death of Gundama II, an uncle of his brother-in-law, Vajrahastha III. During the four years of Vimalāditya's absence at Rājamahēndravaram the kingdom seems to have passed into a state of disorder and anarchy as the king's Raṇastipūṇḍi grant shows. The disasterous effects that always followed on the death of the king in Vēngī country must have also happened on this occasion; and it is recorded that during the period of rebellion and civil war during the first eight years of his reign, Vimalāditya was greatly assisted by his excellent minister Vajra Preggaḍa of the Kauḍinya gōtra, a native of Kāramchēḍu who spared no pains for his master. The king at the time of making the grant of the village of Ranastipūṇḍi to his worthy minister addresses him in most glorious and respectful terms such as '*Amātyaśikhāmaṇi*', '*Budhavajra prākāra*' and '*Saujanyaratnākara*', and makes a special investiture of royalty by giving him '*Śri-dvāra*', Peacock's tail, a water pot, and parasol. Vajrapreggaḍa appears to have been a friend and minister of the king that took great pains in the service (*kṛta klēśa*) of the king as his commander and devoted to him all through his life.

Vimalāditya was a saivite in his youth which was due probably to the influence of the Chōḷa court, and we find him making several gifts to several saivite shrines in the earlier part of his reign. One of his titles '*Mummadi Bhima*' is also indicative of this fact. But in his later years he became a convert to Jainism and freely invited jaina saints from the Kannaḍa country to settle down in the Andhradēśa and preach the faith. He is not the first prince of his house to be follower of Jinadēva: his ancestors till the days of Chālukya Bhima I. were mostly Jainas and largely endowed Jaina temples (*Bastis*) with munificient gifts. Ammarāja II. though a follower of the Saiva faith greatly patronised Jaina religion as his Kaluchumbaṛṛu and Maliyampūṇḍi grants would show. His favourite mistress Chāmekāmba was a lay disciple of Arhanandin of the Vaḷahari *gaṇa* of the Addakāli *gachcha* at Attili. Several *Satralayas* called after his own surname '*Saravalokasraya Jina bhavana* and Jaina temples notably at Bezwada (Vijayavāḍa) and Attili and probably in the capital are ample proof of his tolerance if not of actual patronage. Vimalāditya adopted the Jaina faith and called a certain Trailōkya yōgi Siddhāntadēva, a teacher of *Dēśigaṇa* school of Jainism as his *guru*.[154] This jaina saint was a Kanarese by birth who came to the Telugu country and exercised such great influence

154 *A. R.* of *Ep.* for 1913 page 133 para 6 and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 271 ff.

•upon the king that he (the king) soon became a convert to his teachings. This jaina saint resided at Rāmatīrtham in the Vizagapatam district, which was a great centre of Jaina culture and a place of religions sesort whither the king had made a pilgrimage towards the end of his reign and endowed the institution liberally.[155]

Apart from the religious significance, this Rāmatīrtham inscription of Vimalāditya throws also a flood of light upon the political condition of the Kalinga country which must have come under the influence and control of the Eastern Chalukyas, and it is possible to assume that Vimalāditya conquered it during the latter part of his reign.[156] As later records would point out the Eastern Ganga king Rājarāja like the Eastern Chālukya prince of that name married a Chōḷa princess, Rājasundari, daughter of Rājēndra Chōḷa.

The death of Vimalāditya probably in the middle of A. D. 1022 and king. Rājarāja Narēndra, the noblest and the most illustrious of Eastern Chālukya dynasty ascended the throne immediately. His coronation took place on Thursday, 16th August A. D. 1022.[157] With the the accession of Vimalāditya, the troubles of Eastern Chālukya dynasty of Rājamahēndravaram seem to have come an end, and the elder branch of. the family was firmly established on the throne. Henceforward there was neither treachery nor revolt at home and the country enjoyed greater peace and prosperity. And the scene of struggle for supremacy and the establishment of an empire in the Deccan and the South had become shifted from the Vēngīdēśa and Mānyakhēta to Kalyāṇa and Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram and Kanchipuram. It had become a fight between the rising power of the Chōḷas of the south and the new kingdom of Western Chālukyas of the Deccan. The Chōḷa sovereigns, as the first act of their aggressive foreign policy entered into matrimonial alliance with the Eastern Chālukyas of Andhra and the Eastern Gāngas of Kalinga and thus secured the allegiance of two mighty powers on the north-eastern frontier, in their wars with the Western Chālukyas of Kalyān. The reign of Vimalāditya marks the commencement of the Chōḷa influence at the Andhra capital Rājamahēndravaram, gradually preponderated over that of the ruling house in the next two reigns and the dynasty of the Eastern Chālukyas of Rājamahēndravaram as such came to an end. In short within the next one hundred years the Eastern Chālukyas had lost altogether their individuality as Andhras and Eastern Chālukyas and became a new dynasty with their capital at Kānchīpuram and later still, at Gangaikoṇḍachōḷapuram. This new

155. *A. R. Ep.* for 1918 page 133 para 6. 156. Ibib,
157. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV p. 56. See also the *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV pp 300—9.

dynasty came to be called as the Chālukya-Chōḷas or the later Chōḷas, who by the time of the death of Vikrāma Cholā in A. D. 1135, had ceased to think of Vēngī country as their birth place. [158] The Eastern Chālukya power, too, had reached its zenith in the next two reigns of the son and grandson of Vimalāditya and declined shortly afterwards. The existence of a powerful kingdom like that of the Chōḷas in the south, and their alliance with the Eastern Chālukyas of Rājamahēndra-varam, no doubt, rendered the latter a great help in keeping peace and order in the country. But as has been already remarked, the scene of struggle for supremacy in the Deccan and the south, had become shited from Vēngī. And this fact coupled with the rise of the Chōlas eventually led to the decline of the power and the prestige of the Eastern Chālukyas in the next half a century. But it is neverthless wrong to assume that the Eastern Chālukyas had from this period sunk into a subordinate position and acknowledged the supremacy of the Chōḷas. What had actually happened was that after the death of Rājarāja Narēndra, his son Kulōttunga Chōḷadēva and his successors ceased to rule in Andhradēśa from Rājamahēndrāvaram, themselves, but through viceroys appointed from time to time, and themselves, establishing a dynasty on the Chōḷa throne of Kānchīpuram, known to history as the Chālukya-Chōḷas.

From the days of Vimalāditya or more properly his son Rājarāja Narēndra the country had enjoyed comparatively greater peace than before, and there had come about also a religious awakening in the country, for those were the days of Brahminical revival and the disappearance of the Bauddha and Jaina faiths. As a result of these events, king Rājarāja Narēndra who was a great patron of letters like his illustrious grand-fathers, Dānārnava and Rājamahēndra Vijayāditya Ammarāja II., who styled themselves as *Vidyā-kalāpa-chaturah* and *Kavi-gāyaka-kalpataru*, could patronise one of the greatest of our Telugu poets and encourage him to compose the *Āndhra Mahābhārata* the story of the Bharata race In the Court of Rājarāja Narēndra there flourished a distinguished assemblage of poets, mathematicians, scholars and pandits in the company of whom the king took great delight. There were amongst them the celebrated Nanniya Bhaṭṭa, the composer of the *Mahābhārata*, his co-student and friend Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, called the *Kavirājaśēkhara*, who rendered great assistance to Nanniya Bhaṭṭa in composing the *Mahābhārata*, Pāvulūri Mallanārya, the compiler of a work on Mathematics in Telugu on the lines of the Sanskrit work of

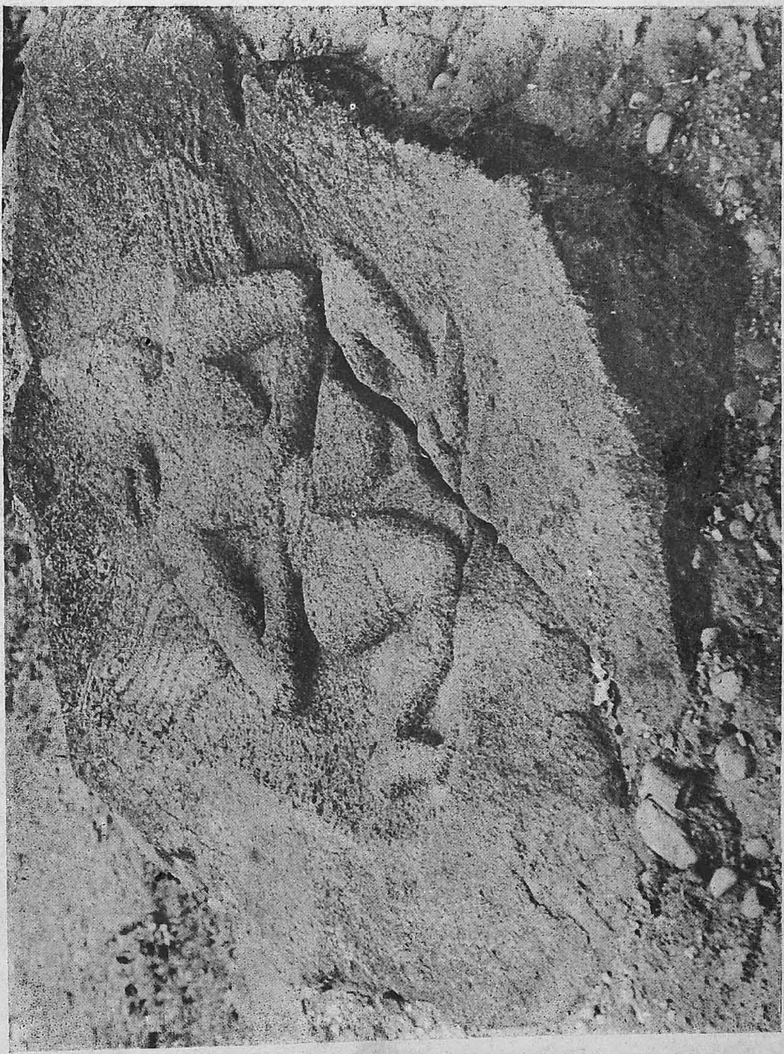
158. The successors of Vikrama Chôladêva never came to Vèngī; they ruled over the Andhra country as supreme overlords as will be shown later, through their viceroys, Velanânṭi Gonkarâja II. and his son Velanânṭi Kulottunga Râjêndra Chôḍaya II, 1106—1157 and 1157—1182. A D. respectively.

the Jaina teacher,[159] Mahāvīrāchārya, Chidamārya, the donee of the Kōrumilli *agraharam* and lastly Chiṭṭana Bhaṭṭa, the composer of the Rājarāja Narēndra's *praśasti*, in the Korumilli grant, and many more poets and scholars whose glory and greatness is now unfortunately forgotten. Rājarāja is rightly called the 'Indra of the assembly of poets of Rājamahēndravara'. The fame and celebrity of Rājarāja Narēndra rests mainly on his magnificence of his court and the patronage of the poets that flocked to it and the great immortal *kāvya*, the *Āndhra Mahābhārata*, the first extant literary work in the Telugu language, written during his lifetime. The *Āndhra Mahābhārata* of Nanniya Bhaṭṭa, dedicated to Rājarāja Narēndra, is not a true translation of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, but an independent *kāvya* by itself and is incomplete. He could compose only the first three *parvas*, the *Ādi*, *Āranya* and *Sabhā-parvas*, and the work was continued by Tikkana Sōmayāji of the court of Manma Siddhi of Vikrama-simhapura (modern Nellore) who completed the remaining fifteen *parvas*. The last days of Rājarāja appear to have been gloomy and filled with turbulence and revolt in the northern country and that might be the reason for the incomplete work of Nanniya Bhaṭṭa. Whatever might be the causes for the incompleteness of the work, it seems certain that the poet and the patron died almost contemporaneously, and it was left to the genius and indefatigble energy of Tikkana Sōmayāji to complete the glorious task, so nobly undertaken nearly a century ago. We find that a century later, that a portion of the *Sabhā-parva* and the *Āranya parva* of Nanniya Bhaṭṭa was destroyed or moth eaten and it was under the patronage of the Reḍḍi king, Ana-Vema of Kondaviḍu that Yerrapragḍa *alias* Śambhudāsa filled in the gaps of the great work and restored the *Andhra Mahābhārata* to the Telugu people. The *Andhra Mahābhārata* is the gift of the noble prince, Rājarāja Narēndra, his poet-laureatte Nanniya Bhaṭṭa and of the celebrated city of Rājamahēndravaram to the people of Andhradesa; the Andhras must feel infinitely grateful to the king, his poet and the city that still survives, for all time to come for that imperishable and inestimable gift. The greatness of the gift is all the more enhanced by the fact that the *Andhra Mahābhārata* is the first in all the vernaculars of India. Its importancealso lies in the fact that it gave a new impetus to the religious awakening in the country and tended to establish vedic brahmanism with all the elaborate rituals of the *Pūrvamīmāmsa* school, in the country and destroyed all traces of the Buddhism and Jainism. The *Mahābhārata* has been a national asset and there is no other literary work in the Āndhra Language which

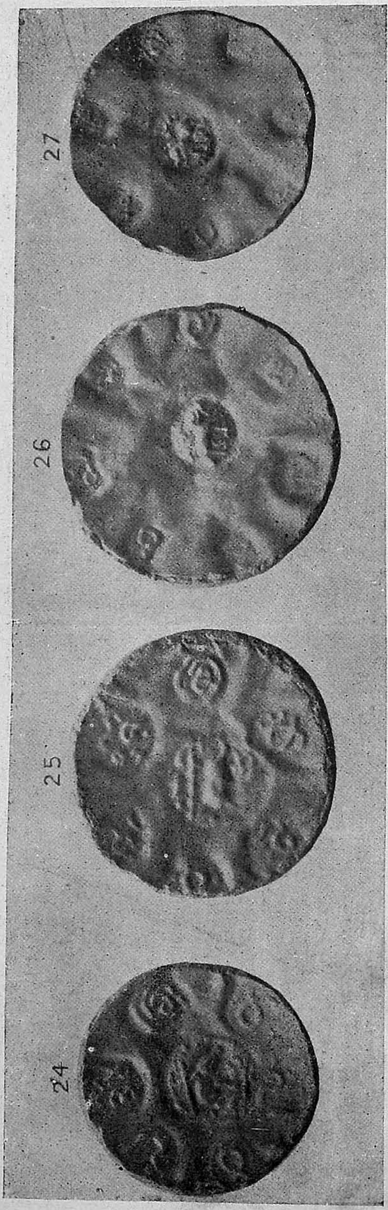
159 Pâvuluri Mallana, was the donee of the *agrahara* of the village of Nava-khanḍavâḍa, near Pithapuram. according to statement in his work *Pavuluri Ganitamu.*

commands so much veneration and popularity as this *kāvya*. It was therefore left to the genius and fore-sight of that illustrious Eastern Chālukya prince, Rājarāja Narēndra to get the *Mahābhārata* composed in his own language for the benefit of his people which in later years influenced the religious, political and literary history of the land. Rājamahēndravaram soon became a centre of learning and culture and of brahminical revival and expansion The greatness and celebrity of Rājamahēndravaram as the seat of learning and culture, the centre of religious and political activity, the meeting place of scholars, poets, learned-men, dancers and musicians, that commenced in the days of *Rājamahēndra* Vijayāditya Ammarāja II. and his half-brother, prince Dānārnava, reached its zentih in the reign of Rājarāja Narēndra and continued till the days of the fall of the Reḍḍi dynasty in the middle of the fifteenth century, survives to this day though in a lesser degree. Rājamahēndravaram has through all these ten long centuries maintained its high reputation and glory as the seat of Andhra learning and culture.

The pure fame of Rājarāja Narēndra has been tarnished by a tradition wherein it is said that he conducted himself in an ignominious and disgraceful manner and ended his life in unpopularity and misery. The story is as follows: Rājarāja Narēndra of Rājamahēndravaram,–but, some say of Malwa —, had two queens, Ratnāngī and Chitrāngī. Some say that Ratnāngi alone was the married wife and Chitrāngi was only favourite courtezan, but that is not probable even according to the traditional account. Ratnāngī was the *agramahishī* or the chief queen. King Rājarāja had no children for a very long time, which became a source of grave anxiety to him. At last through great penance and worship he could please Śiva through whose favour he obtained a son whom he called Sārangadhara, after his god. Sārangadhara was a handsome prince, full of learning, great culture and noble quatities. His excellent virtues and beautiful appearance endeared him to the hearts of his people who adored him. Soon he was anointed as the *yuvarāja* or the crown prince, and the king his father began to look for a suitable princess to be the wife of his only son. He sent accordingly brahmins far and wide to select a princess for Sārangadhara. In a short time the brahmins returned with the selected bride for the prince. The bride-elect was so lovely and charming that the king, old though he was, foolishly fell in love with the youthful princess and wished to marry her himself. The courtiers and the ministers of his court tried to dissuade the king from taking the princess to himself as his queen, but in vain. The king married Chitrāngī soon after. The new queen was young, lovely and gay. She felt a unabating love for prince Sārangadhara but her desires were cruelly nipped in the bud, by the relentless



Stone figure of Sārangadhara, on the Mound near Rajahmundry.




Gold Coins (Mâḍa) of Râjarâja (Nos. 24 & 25) and his Son Kulôthunga Chôla Dêva I (Nos. 76 & 27).

fate. She therefore began to pine away for her lover secretly and waited for an opportunity to meet the prince and tell him of her love.

Days went by. At last the long sought opportuni y came. The old king went out for hunt and did not return to the city for a number of days. Meanwhile, one day the prince went out into the city, with his companions to enjoy his favourite pastime, the pigeon flying. Sārangadhara had two pigeons, one male and another female which were very beautiful. First the male pigeon was released and it flew into the air; in a short time it perched on a rail in the palace of Chitrāngi. The maids of the queen noticed it and reported the mattar to their mistress who at once ordered it to be seized. The fugitive pigeon was immediately taken inside and secreted, in order that its presence in Chitrāngi's palace might induce prince Sārangadhara to visit his step mother, to take it away. Chitrāngi's clever ruse was entirely successful for when Sārangadhara saw his favourite pigeon entering his step-mother's palace he wanted to go there and take it back. But his friends and companions dissuaded him from such an attempt though they did not assign any reason for that. The wise counsel of his friends was not heeded; Sārangadhara was determined to go as he foresaw nothing untoward in his own step-mothers's palace. But at this moment, Subuddhi, the minister's son broke out and warned him of unseen danger to him and said that Chitrāngi wasyoung and lovely and that the king, his father was absent. At this Sārangadhara was offended, for he said he loved and worshipped Chitrāngi as his queen-mother herself and would not tolerate even the faintest suggestion of his step-mother's unchasity. The offended prince heeded not the warning and ran in the direction of the palace.

In the palace of queen Chitrāngi every arrangement was made to receive the prince in a proper fashion. Innocent Sārangadhara entered the queen-mother's chambers, and after usual salutations and greetings befitting the queen and the royal son, requested his step-mother to release and return his fugitive pigeon which had mischevously flew into her palace. But the wily and love-stricken youthful queen would not. She led him into all sorts of converstion and finally revealed her desire to him. This was indeed too much for the unwitting Sārangadhara who looked upon Chitrāngi as his mother. He begged her not to pursue that sinful course of conduct and tried to turn her mind away from her purpose, but it was all in vain. Chitrāngi was infatuated with passion for Sārangadhara and would not heed the good advice from her son. She was determined to have her own way even if the prince had expressed his abhorence. She threatened to report to his father of his misdeeds falsely, if he did not please her then, and then begged him to embrace her. All the threats and wailings of the love-stricken princess were in vain;

Sārangadhara fell upon his knees and begged her to let him go even without the pigeon. Feeling that all her charms and beauty had failed to attract the prince to her, Chitrāngi in a desparate passion flung herself upon him, but Sārangadhara who was startled and dismayed flew away from her clutches and left the palace quickly. In that hurry he left behind his upper cloth and his other apparel of which he stripped himself when he was received by the queen and partook of her hospitality, quite unwittingly.

The disappointed young queen felt insulted and flew into a rage which shook her frail frame like a storm. She swore eternal vengence against the prince who after knowing her heart had fled from her palace carrying away her secret with him. She was besides herself in sorrow and humiliation when she thought of the consequences if the prince reported to the king his father of her misdeeds. She made up her mind in a deparate moment to bring the man who after knowing her mind, had deceived her, to humiliation and punishment. In the meantime the frightened prince ran to his palace shut himself up in his apartments. He did not know what to do. He was burning with shame and dared not open his lips to any living being, lest he might bring dishonour to the fair name of his step-mother, the queen. In the palace of Chitrāngi preparations were made to tell the king, on his return from the hunt of the prince's outrage on the young queen.

In the meanwhile the old king returned from the hunt. Fearing that Sārangadhara would inform his father of her misdeads Chitrāngi planned to report to the king first herself against the prince. She pretended illness and proclaimed to the king and every one concerned how she had been molested and disgraced by the voluptuous prince Sārangadhara who entered her chamber secretly during the king's absence. The credulous king believed her story implicity, for his love for the young queen was so great that he easily fell into her snares. Chitrāngi showed her lord proofs of injuries on her person, though self-inflicted they were, which she lied, were caused by the furious and infatuated prince while she struggled to extricate herself from his hold. The wily queen corroborated her story by more strong proofs; she produced before the king the prince's personal apparel and other ornaments, and above all the male pigeon that had mischevously and unwittingly flew into her palace. All these were sufficient to induce the king to believe his son to be the real offender, and so he resolved to punish him in a proper manner. He at once ran to his court and assembled his ministers of state; after consultation with them, and an enquiry, he condemned his own son. The innocent prince was too noble and sensitive to the honour of his queen-mother that he did not open

his lips before the king's judicial tribunal or his intimate friends The prince's silence was indeed a great surprise to many who knew him from his infancy but he remained determined to be silent. He appeared prepared to sacrifice himself, his honour and everything to to save and protect the fair name of a queen. Though the king condemned him, there were many in the city and the court who did not believe the story of the queen Chitrāngi, but they were left helpless when the prince himself resignedly kept silence and refused to plead his innocence. The king turned a deaf ear to the wailings of his queen Ratnāngi, mother of the unfortunate prince, and all the filial love that was nourished inhis bosom from the infancy faded away like mist before the fury of his passion for his youthful queen Chitrāngi. Every remonstrance was in vain and the king would not even the tolerate the idea of the banishment of the prince from his kingdom. And the prince was ordered to be tortured to death by mutilation of the hands andthe legs.

The orders of the king were scrupulously carried out for such was the vengeance which Chitrāngi swore, when her passionate love felt insulted and recoiled in shame. The prince perished in the early hours of the morning. unable to bear the terrible pain. Shortly after this the king left the hall of justice, he became uneasy and felt the agony of an unconscious wrong doer. He then began to make inquires once more about his son's conduct, and received unquestionable proofs of his innocence. He at once repented and quickly attempted to undo what he had done. He immediately despached messengers to proceed as swiftly as they could and convey his orders that the prince had been pardoned. But alas! it was too late. Soon the news of the death of the prince was brought to the king who became overwhelmed with grief and filled with important rage. He became cruel and inflicted a more serve and heart-rending his queen Chitrāngi. The people, it is said, grew enraged at this reckless punishment on and mad conduct of the king, rebelled against him, and finally slew or drove him out of the country. The prince however, the traditions says was brought back to life though the miraculous cure by a saint, andlived for a long time after.

To this day, a mound to the north of the city, called the Mound of Sārangadhara is shown, where the prince is said to have suffered mutilation and death, and nearby an old dilapidated pit is also to be shown as the ghastly well into which the young queen. Chitrāngi was flung to die of starvation and terrible pain. Every year at the time of the Pongal, in the month of Pausha after *Makara Sānkrānti*, a great festival is celebrated by the country folk and the populace of the city in honour of the departed prince.

Whatever might have been the truth or otherwise of the facts narrated in the above tradition there is absolutely no historical foundation for it. The yearly festival at the time of *Makara Sankrānti* i. e. on the third day after the *Pongal*, the mound, the persistent tradition may be strong proofs of its historicicity, but it is hard to accept it as true, in the absence of any epigraphical or other reliable contemporary literary evidence. King Rājarāja had no queens, as far the epigraphical evidence shows, with queer names like Ratnāngi and Chitrāngi, and no son of the name of Sārangadhara We know the Eastern Chalukya king Rājarāja married Ammanga dēvī, daughter of Rājēndra Chōla I *alias* Gangaikondan and had by her daughter a Kundava and a son Rājēndra Choda, who afterwards became famous in history as Kulottunga Chōḷa Dēva I, the founder of Chālukya-Chōḷa dynasty of the South. Neither Nanniya nor any contem poraneous poet or any one that came immediately after him mention this story. For the first time this tradition was recorded by the great Rhetorician and Critic, Kākunūri Appakavi who lived about the middle of the 17th century A. D. And even his story is so full of improbabilities and inaccuracies that it is hardly difficult to detect that is false. Appakavi can be said to have invented the story for purposes best known to himself. But it cannot be said, at the same time that there was no such tradition before him, as we have pointed out elsewhere, the story might have had its historical foundation in the life of *Rājamahēndra* Vijayādityā Ammaraja II, and Appakavi, noticing thesimilarity of titles, ignorantly connected the ignominy to the famous Rājarāja and thus gave a touch of 'sanctiy and truthfulness to the *Andhra Sabda Chintāmani* which is a work on Rhetoric and Telugu Grammar attributed to the celebrated poet Nanniya. There can be no greater literary forgery than this *Andhra Śabda Chintāmani* of Nanniya. And whatever the orthodox school of Telugu Pandits might say, there is abundant internal evidence to convince any body that the so called work of Nanniya was Appakavi's own invention, quietly fathered on the Poet-laureatte of Rājarāja. This is not the occassion however, to go into with the vexed question of the authorship of the *Andhra Śabda Chintāmani*, but it seems quite certain that there is no literary evidence of the story of Sārangadhara prior to the 17th century A. D. Thus, in the absence of any epigraphical or trustworthy literary evidence, contemporaneous with Rājarāja or his time, it is impossible to accept the tradition as true and attribute the calumny to one of the greatest and most illustrious kings of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty.

*(To be continued.)*

# KADAMBAS OF KALINGA.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA.

1

During the reigns of the Gānga kings of Kalinga, we hear of a line of subordinate chiefs belonging to the Kadamba family governing a small territory under them. As far as I am aware there are only three Eastern Gānga inscriptions which mention the Kadambas as donors and they are (1) Parlakimidi Plates of Vajrahasta, published in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. III p. 220 (2) Mandasa Plates of of Vajrahasta III, referred to as *C. P. No. 12 of 1917-18* in the Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy, 1918, and (3) Kambakāya Grant of Dēvēndra-varama, published in the *Bharati* (Telugu), Vol. IV Part 11.

Of these, the date of the first grant is not known; it does not mention any regnal or Śaka year with details to calculate the date. It only mentions that Kalinga was at that time ruled by a king named Vajrahasta who belonged to the Ganga *kula*. The grant does not even give the name of the donor's father. It is not, therefore, possible to know who this Vajraharsta was and at what time he reigned in Kalinga. Palaeographically, however, this grant may be assigned to the eleventh century of the Christian era. This inscription records the grant of the village, Hossandi [1] to one *Rajaputra* Śri Kāmadi, son of Erayama rāja of the Naggari Saluki-*kula*, on the occasion of *kanyā-dāna* (Marriage : Lit. Gift of a girl) to him, by Dāraparāja, dear son of Chōḷa Kāmadirāja, of the spotless family of Ganga-*kula* and lord of the Pancha vishayas, when Vajrahasta was reigning in Kalinga. It further states that the governor of the village now granted was one Ugrakhēḍi who is said to be the ornament of the spotless Kadamba race and born in the family of *Nidusanti*. This name *Nidusanti* might be the name of a family or community in the Kadamba race. Ugrakhēḍi has for his title Rāṇaka which may be taken to correspond to *Mandalēś-vara*. The second inscription is that of Vajrahasta III. In this also

1 The name of the village occurs in more than one place in the inscription. Except in one place where the mindle letter looks *ssa*, in other places the name reads as 'Hommanḍi'. The engraver has carelessly written *sa* as *ma* in several places.

the Kadambas are mentioned. This record is dated in S.S. 976 corresponding to A. D. 1054, and registers the gift of a village Madhipaṭthara-khaṇḍa in the Mahēndra-Bhōga to a certain Ujaṇaka, by Rāṇaka Śrī Dharma Khēḍi, son of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāṇaka Śrī Bhāma khēḍi of the Kadamba family, the lord of the Panchavishayas (*Pañchavishayâdhipati)*; and the order of the gift is addressed to the officials and people of the Pañchapātra-vishaya. Mr. G. Ramadas Pantulu[2] thinks that the modern villages of Madhia and Patdhira-khaṇḍa seem to correspond to the village Madhipatdhara of the grant and therefore these two villages may be identified as the villages granted in the inscription; and that since these two villages are in the Mandasā *Zamīndâri*, the Pancha-vishaya or the Pañcha-pātra vishaya might refer to the Mandasa *Zamindari* itself, and the Mahēndra bhōga might be the territory lying in the vicinity of the famous hill Mahendragiri. It is noteworthy that the seal of the grant does not contain the usual (*Nandi*) bull of the Gānga dynasty but a fish (*Matsya*) emblem. The third inscription which mentions the Kadambas is the Kambakāya Grant of Dēvēdravarama, of Śaka year 1103. It registers the gift of the village Reveneji by dividing it into two portions, giving one to Nārāyaṇa nāyaka and the other to Ījaṇaka[3], by Rāṇaka Śrī Udayādttyadēva, son *Mahâmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāṇaka Śri Dharma Khēḍi of the Kadamba family and lord of the Panchavishaya.

From a study of these three inscriptions we learn that (*a*) during the time of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga there was in Kalinga a feudatory family of Kadambas governing a small territory; (*b*) these Kadambas rose to prominence and fame by being herditary rulers of villages, vishyas, and being *Maṇḍalēs'varas* and *Mahāmaṇḍalēs'varas*; (*c*) the territory governed by the Kadambas was the Pañchavishya or Pañchapatravishya which according to Mr. Ramadas Pantulu might refer to the Mandasā *Zamindari* in the Ganjam district; (*d*) the appellation *Khēdi* might be an exclusive name-ending for the members the Kadamba family, (*e*) the emblem of the Kadambas was *Matsya* or fish; and that since the fish emblem or the *matsaya lanchhana* is to be seen on the seals of inscriptions Nos. 2 & 3 above referred to, the grants may be taken have been made by the Kadamba Chiefs during the regins of their sovereigns the Ganga kings, whoever they might be.

2 *Q. J. Myth-Soc.* Vol. XIV, p. 269.

3 The name 'Dharma Khêḍi' appears both in the Mandasa and Kambakâya Plates. Not only that, the names of the donees also, in both the records are somewhat similar. In one grant the donee is 'Ujanaka' and in the other is 'Ijanaka'. The existence of the name Dharmakhêḍi in both the grants and the close similarity between the names of the two donees, tempt one to identify them as one of them and regard king Dêvêndravarman of the Kambakâya plates as the son or successor of Vajrahasta of the Mandasa grant. But there seems to be some difficulty in reconciling their times.

2

Yet there are two more inscriptions of the Gānga kings, which mention names ending with 'the appellation *Khēdi.* They are: (1) Vishamagiri Grant of *Mahārāja* Sri Indravarmadēveva [4]. This grant registers the gift of some land in the village of Amērisinga of the Jalamvōra-vishya by the king to Svāmi.śarmaa, son of Bhaṭṭaputra of the Vajasana (Vajasanēya) *charana*, Kanma (Kanva) *śākha* and Jātukarna *gōtra.* The king is said to be the lord of Kalinga, and *Mahāsāmanta* Nāgakhēḍi is mentioned as the *Dūtaka.* The inscription is not dated; the seal contains the emblem of the bull. And Nāga khēḍi is not mentioned as a Kadamba. (2) Vizagapatam Plates of Dēvēndravarma.[5] The king who is said to be the lord of Kalinga, made the grant, at the instance of Dharma Khēḍi, (*mātula*) his maternal uncle, and is dated in the 254th year of the Gānga era. Since it has not been definitely fixed as to when the *Ganga era* had commenced, it is not possible to calculate the date of this grant. The seal on this record also contains the *nandi* emblem and not the fish crest. Dharma Khēdi, is not also mentioned here as a Kadamba.

Though both these persons with the appellation *khēdi* in the above two grants are not mentioned as Kadambas, I think they belong to the Kadamba family, in as much they have the title *khēdi* at the end of their names. So far as I am aware there is no king the name, ending with *Khēḍi* in the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga, and it is therefore possible to assume that name-ending *Khēdi* was exclusive to the Kadambas. But the question arises, why is it then in these two inscriptions the *nandi* or the bull crest is seen instead of the Kadamba *matsya* (fish)? The answer is simple. These two grants, unlike the other two records were made by the Ganga kings and incidentally the names the Kadamba chieftains also are mentioned. Besides, these tend to establish a sort of relationship also between the Kadamba fludatories and the Ganga kings.

3

The next question which arises is, wherefrom the these Kadambas came and settled down here ? Here again, I think the appellation *Khēḍi* seems to guide us and give the clue to our investigation. We have known of two families of feudatory nobles, who with a slight difference of spelling, were called Kādambas, of Hāngal and Goa. The Kādambas of Hāngal—the ancient Pānumgal and Hānumgal,—which is the chief town of the Hāngal tāluka in the Dhārwar district, Bombay

4 C. P. No. 9 of 1917—18. *A. R. for Ep.* 1918.
5 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 145 ff.

Presidency[6]. These nobles had the herditary right to rule the Pānumgal or Hanumgal district, which consisted of five hundred villages. And their capital was Hāngal itself. Their family-god was Jayanti-Madhukēśvara or Vishnu under the name of Madhukēśvara of Jayantipura or Banawāsi. The other family of the Kadambas, had for their capital Goa, the present Portugeese capital. Their original territory was a province called Palāsige or Halāsige twelve-thousand, which took its appellation from one of the ancient forms of the name of the modern Hālsī in the Khānāpur taluka, Belgaum district[7]. In the latter half of the eleventh century, however, they acquired by wresting, from the Śailāhāras, a division of the Konkan, which was evidently the the territory in the vicinity of Goa. There can be little doubt that the Kadambas of Goa were of the same original stock with the Kadambas of Hāngal though no indication has yet been obtained as to the point at which the two geneologies may be joined[8]. Whatever that might be, these two families seem to have enjoyed the governorship of the territories lying in the Dhārwar and Belgaum Districts. During the days of their expansion, the modern principality of Kolhapur State and its neighbouring district Ratnagiri, might have come under the control of in the Kādambas of Hāngal and Goa, as some of their inscriptions scattered in those parts would attest.[9] The Khēḍ tāluka of the Ratnagiri District is supposed to represent the Khēṭahāra *desa*, mentioned in the Goa Grant of Pulikesin II. *Śaka-Samvat* 532[10]. It might be that the original Kadambas might have migrated from this *Khēṭahāra* district as their name *khēḍi* would seem to suggest. Though it is not possible to assert with any amount of certainty that the orginal home of the Kadambas of Kalinga was this Khēṭahāra district, it can nevertheless be safely assumed that they migrated into Kalinga from the west or south-west.

Another interesting fact is, that the family-god of the Kadambas of Vaijayanti, Palāsige and Hāngal is said to be *Madhukēsvara*, mentioned in their inscriptions as *Jayanti Madhukēśvara*.[11] From the Ganga inscriptions in Kalinga we know that there was *Madhukēs'vara* in *Nagara*. In the Korni[12] and the Vizagpatam plates[13] plates of Anantavarma *alias* Chōḍaganga, it is stated that Kāmārnava II, son of Dānārnavā of the Gānga family, built a temple for *Madhukēs'vara* in *Nagara*, But the tradition recorded here is, that the god had manifested himself from a Madhūka tree, and is therefore known as *Madhukēs'vara*, but this tradition seems to me untenable. It appears

6 *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. II Part 2 p. 558 & 566 (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Dists.*)
7 *e.g. Ibid.* 8 *e.g. Ibid.* 9 *e.g. Ibid.* 10 *e.g. Ibid.*
11 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 252, text lines 24 & 25.
12 This *Journal:* above. Vol. I p. 122 ff,
13 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII p. 145.

to me that the Kadambas, wherever they came from, were responsible for bringing *Madhukēs'vara* into Kalinga; for when they migrated into Kalinga they must have brought with them their family-god *Madhukēs'vara* into their new home. One more interesting thing is that the family-god of the Gangas was not *Madhukēsvara* but *Gōkarnēs'vara*, established on the celebrated hill Mahendragiri. If the Ganga king Kāmārnava II, had built a lofty a temple for the god *Madhukēsvara* in the Nagara it might be at the instance of his nobles of the new Kadamba fuedatory families who migrated and settled down in his territory and assisted him in carrying on the administration of his government, as well as for his own merit. This temple of *Madhukēs'vara*, further strongly indicates the great influence which the Kadambas of Kalinga wielded under the Ganga sovereignty. The existence of the god *Madhukēs'vara* in Kalinga, thus proves beyond doubt that the Kadambas of Kalinga were originally immigrants from the south-west.

Further, Mālkhēḍ, (Mānyakhēṭa), Khēṭaka, Khēṭahāra or Khēḍ and all those places with name-endings *Khēṭ* or *Khēḍ* are to be seen only in the west, in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency. The Kadmbas of Kalinga who had the name ending *Ḳhēḍi* might, in all probability, have been the immigrants from the west, the districts of Dharwar, Belgaum and Ratnagiri. This view is also amply borne out by the existence of a village of the name Palāsa (Palāsika), a Railway Station of importance on the B. N. Ry in the Ganjam district not far from the Mandas a *Zamindari.* This name Palāsā is a crude distortion of the Kanarese Palāsige of the Belgaum district.

There appears still another reason which is compelling me to hold that the Kadambas of Kalinga came from Hāngal and Palāsige in the Dharwar and Belgaum districts. We know from the records of the Kadambas of Hāngal, that their capital was mentioned as Vairāṭapura. Virāṭana-kōṭe, and Virāṭanagara.[14] And we know Virāṭanagara was the capital of the Matsya country mentioned in the *Mahābhārata.* This might be the reason for the Kadambas of Kalinga to have the emblem of *Matsya* on their royal banner and seal instead of the *Simha lānchhana* or lion crest and *Śākhācharēndra-dhvaja* or banner of Hanumant.[15] This is no dout inexplicable; but their migration from the *Matsya* country which was another name for the Hāngal province might be the cause for their adopting the *Matsya lānchhana* or the fish crest. Thus the name ending *khēdi* and their fish crest seem to

14 *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. II. Part 1 p. 558.
15 *e.g. Ibid* p. 566

suggest the original home from which these Kadambas migrated. After all these are surmises, which will have to be carefully examined, in the light of future researches.

4

Local history tells us that in the Southern Kalinga, i.e., the modern Vizagapatam District, a family of feudatory nobles ruled the country round the modern Madgole, with their capital at Oḍḍādi,[16] and this family is known as the *Matsya vams'a*. They had the fish crest for their emblem and their was called Matsya dēśa. Inscriptions discovered till now in Province that part of the country do not throw any light on the question whether there was any connection between the Matsya kings of Oḍḍadi and the Kadambas of Kalinga, though both had the *Matsya lāanchhana*;[17] It might be that when several families of Kadambas migrated from the Matsyadēśa in the Dharwar district, into Kalinga, one had called their little territory *Matsya dês'a* and ruled there during the thirteenth century of the Christian era while the other adopted fish crest (*Matsya lânchana*), for the love of their original home. These facts are indeed interesting, but require greater scrutiny and investigation.[18]

16 Drâkshârâma Ins. No. 1043; *S. I. I.* Vol. IV.

17 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V r. 107 ff.

18 Besides this, another Matsya family is mentioned in line 19 of the Chipurupalli Plates of the Eastern Châlukya King Vishnuvardhana I. of A D. 632 A. D, The geneology found in the Dibbiḍa Plates of Arjuna dêva of the Matsya family of Voddavâdi does not indicate the existence of any connection between the Kadambas of the Kalinga who had also *matsyalanchhana*, and the Matsya kings of Voḍḍavâḍi, in spite of their fish emblem. According to Mr. Sewell's *List of Antiquities* Vol, 1 p. 15, Sir Walter Elliot's collection contains some inscriptions of a Mahâmandalêśvara Mânkâditya Mahârâja of the Matsya family from Muddurru in the Viravilli Taluka, Vizagapatam District.

# REVIEWS.

**Kampili and Vijayanagara.** DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., Ph.D. *Madras Christian College. Published by the Author.*

This little *fasicule* on the Origin of the Empire of Vijayanagar, is a valuable contribution to the study of the History of the great mediaeval empire of the south. The first topic, the kingdom of Kampili, is based on a study of the Telugu and Kanarese manuscripts found in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, and the second is the result of investigation into the sources of the Vijayanagara history from a purely unbiased point of view. Dr. Venkataramanayya has in these two intertsting essays clearly shown how Kampili first, and Vijayanagar sometime later, were the great attempts of the people of the Dekhan and South India, to stem the tide of Muhammadan advance, which was trying to extirpate the Hindu civilization and the culture. The doctor points out how meagre are the accounts of the Muhammadan Chronielers like Ibn Batuta, Zian-ud-din Barni and Ferista and Portugese travellers like Nuniz and then proceeds to discuss the Hindu sources in detail so as to construct a true history out of the mass of legendary and mythical material contained therein; and though he does not discuss the dates of these documents there is nothing in the writings themselves to doubt their historical value.

After the fall of Dēvagiri at the hands of Malik Kafur, and the death of Śankaradēva, the country drifted into a disorderly state. Mummadi Singa, a feudatory chief of Malenādu the Devagiri dominions repaired to the south and founded the kingdom of Kampili with his capital at Kummaṭa, (*Crynmaṭa* of the Portugese Chronicles) and declared independence. After a brief and peaceful reign of a few years Mummaḍi Singa died and was succeeded by his son Kampili Rāya. Kampili Rāya and his more illustrious son Kumāra Rāma conquered and subdued the neighbouring country and extended the borders of their kingdom. At one time Kampila and Kumara Rama invaded the territories of the Hoyasalas and Kākatiyas successfully. The doctor has shown unmistakeable epigraphical and literary evidence to prove the historicity of Mummaḍi Singa the founder, his son Kampili Rāya and the grand son Kumāra Rāma, of the kingdom of Kampili, which flourished as an independent kingdom for a period of fifteen years commencing from A. D. 1327, under the two reigns, of Mummaḍi Singa

and his on Kampili Rāya. The uncertainty which hangs about the identiy of the capital of Kampili according to the writings of the Mohammedan Chroniclers no longer baffles our historian who is now able to fix it at Kumata on unmistakeable grounds. No doubt Kumaṭa was the official capital of Mummaḍi Singa but his son changed it to modern Ānegondi or Hosamalemārga, which was again abandoned during the Muhammedan invasion in the last days of Kampili Rāya. It is interesting to note that there is a close similarity and agreement between the Hindu sources and the Muhammadan writers about the origin of the war between the Sultan of Delhi and the king of Kampili. It is noteworthy that the Hindu writers and poets of those times regarded every Muhammadan general that led the armies to the south as *Kalanemi* after the fashion of Malik Kāfur, and on this occassion, too, the Khwāja Jehān who destroyed Kumaṭa and the kingdom of Kampilli is called *Nēmi*, and our author has correctly identified him. Throughout his monograph the author has given authorities for his statements, except in one or two places where his enthusiasm hasled him to omit his source information. For example he does notmention the certain Telugu poems in which he says, Malik Kafur is referred to as *Kāla Yavana.*

The close connection which the writer finds between the fall of Kumaṭa and the destruction of the kingdom of Kampili and the origin of Vijayanagara is interesting and indeed convincing as historically probable. The origin of the great mediaeval empire of Vijayanagara which according to Mr. Sewell is shrouded in mystery, has been laid bare by the present writer by a close study of all the epigraphical and literary evidence available. He rejects as unsatisfactory the theories of Mr. Sewell, Lowis Rice and scholars of the Hoysala school like Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar, Mr. Krishna Sastri and Mr. Satyanathan, and states that their investigations were not exhaustive and correct and were therefore vitiated by their onesideness. They are accused of having started with wrong premisses. He therefore discusses at great length and proves conclusively that Vijayanagar could not have been founded by Vīra Ballāla III, as he was engaged in a terrible and devastating war with the Raja of Ānegondi and the Sultan of Delhi on the one hand and the Sultan of Madura in the South on the other, between A. D. 1328 and 1346, the period during which the city was founded. He shows by means of epigraphical evidence that between those two years, i.e., during that long period of eighteen years, Ballala III. was restlessly moving from place to place as exigencies of time and situation wanted and that it was not possible for him to found the city in the territory of the Sultan of Delhi at a time when the latter himself was in person in Anegondi or thereabouts. From a study purely of the early

inscriptions of Vijayanagara and other literary sources the writer asserts that Harihara and Bukka were made rulers of Kummata and Anegondi after the death of Kampili Rāya in accordance with the orders of the Sultan who is said to have paradoned them on their having embraced Islam, doubtless nominally. Though the doctor does not clear the confusion regarding Harihara and Bukka who were at one time said to be door-keepers of Vira Pratāpa Rudra II. of Warangal and on an other occasion treasury officers of Kampila Rāya, he agrees on the authority of Zian-un-uddin Barni, a contemporary historian at the Court of Mohammad bin Tughlak and *S'ivatatva Ratnākara,* however, that these brothers were connected with the royal family of the Kākatiyas of Warangal. He further advances an interesting but a very controversial theory basing his arguments on the writings of the Portuguese and the Mohammedan chronicles and *S'ivatatva Ratnakara, Rājakāla Nirnya* and *Keladi nripa Vijaya,* that the brothers Harihara and Bukka the founders of the empire of Vijayanagara were of Telugu extraction and that the Sangama dynasty was an Andhra one. This new theory will be criticised mercilessly by Hoysala and Karnata school of writers, but after a careful examination of his reasons we are inclined to agree with Mr. Venkataramanayya. The year A. D. 1346 is fixed as the date when Harihara threw off the semblance of yoke on Delhi, taking advantage of the general prevailing unrest in the country shortly after the death Muhammad bin Tughlak. In that year Krishnama Naik, son of Prataparudra II. of Warangal, advised and even induced his kinsmen Harihara and Bukka to rebel and to combine with him to expel the Muhammedans from the Dekhan who had then secretly formed the design of extirpating the Hindus. It is clear that this event took place some time after the death of Ballala III., in A.D. 1344 and Harihara's inscriptions speak of him as ruling at his capital at Ānegondi. Thus it was only after the rebellion, and the defeat of the Mussalman armies or more properly as preparation for the rebellion that Harihara appears to have removed his seat of government to a place in the frontiers of his dominions and "built the strong city which was called Nagar". We are in full agreement with the Doctor when he says upon a consideration of the writings of Ferishta and Barni that the rebellions at Warangal by Krishnama Naik and in Kampila by Harahara were connected and led to the foundation of the mighty empire of south that flourished for three centuries roughly.

**Trilochana Pallava and Karikala Chola.** BY DR. N. VENKATARAMANYYA, M. A., Ph. D. *Published by V. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, Madras.*

In this little essay, Dr. Venkataramanayya has contributed the results of his historical research which will go a long way to clear the

gross misconceptions of some of our South Indian Scholars, regarding the historicity of Trilōchana Pallava who is also know as Mukkanti Kāḍuveṭṭi. Trilōchana Pallava is regarded by them as a mythical figure that stalks like a stumbling block in the early history of South India: for the acceptance of the historicity of Trilōchana would lead to the fixing of the age of Karikāla; and once the date is fixed with an amount of certainity the great antiquity of Karikāla and the Tamil Sangam age is at once destroyed. South Indian Scholars are therefore not inclined to accept Trilōchana Pallava as a historical figure even though he is said to be a contemporary of the great Karikāla Chōḷa who is believed to have reigned at the beginning of the Christian Era. The historical tradition embodied in the inscriptions of the The Telugu Chōḍas and other feudatory noble families of the Andrha country of the 11th. 12th and 13th centuries and the literature of the Telugus and the Tamils has been quetly rejected as a purely mythical account of Trilōchana and Karikāla. For the same purpose the Telugu Chōḍas are said to have had no connection with the Chōḷa dynasty founded by Vijayālaya, the ancestor of Karikāla Chōḷa and that the geneology recorded in the inscriptions of the Telugu Chōḍas is broken here and there and therefore, untrustworthy. But the present writer proves by a careful reasoning that the pedigree of the Telugu Chōḍas to be perfectly genuine and historical. In this attempt he has reconstructed the Chōḷa geneology by an examination of the inscriptions of the Telugu Chōḍas and the Tamil Chōḷas, and by identifying Jaṭā Chōḍa of the Telugu records with Chet-Chenni of the Tamil inscriptions and literature and Mahimāna Chōḍa with Mavill or Mavan Killi; and shown that his conclusions have the unanimous support of the historical tradition of the Telugus and the Tamils as well. Dr. Venkataramanayya has shown beyond doubt that not only Trilōchana Pallava was a historical personage but that he was a contemporary of Karikāla Chōḷa. Trilōchana Pallava now appears to have been originally a king of Kānchī who flourished about the end of the 5th century A. D. and who after meeting with a severe reverse in the encounter with Karikāla Chōḷa left Kānchī and proceeded northwards and settled down in the Andra country with his capital at Dharanikōṭa on the Krishna river. Another interesting fact which unables the present writer to fix the date of Trilōchana Pallava and Karikāla Chōḷa, is his mention in the records of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty which state that Vijayāditya father of Vishnuvardhana-Jayasimha, the founder of Chālukya kingdom of Bādāmi was killed in a fierce battle by Trilōchana or Trinayana Pallava. These important events though shrouded in tradition are very important and they help the historian to fix the age and date of the kings that were connected with them. The Doctor has examined all the facts in great detail and shown how the encounter between

Trilōchana Pallava and Vijayāditya, could have taken place in the last quarter of the 5th century, sometime before Karikāla Chōḷa had driven Mukkanti Kāḍuveṭṭi, out of Kānchi and oppupied his territory. Thus three great kings. Karikāḷa Chōla, Trilochana Pallava or Mukkanṭi Kāduveṭṭi and Vijayāditya, who have been till nowre garded as mythical kings have been proved to be really genuine and historical personages who flourished about the last quarter of the 5th century A.D. sometime after the great confusion that prevailed in the Deccan and the Pallava Kingdom, consequent on the invasion of Samudragupta and the death of Yuvarāja Vishnngopa. The book is the result of a careful research and is certainly interesting

B. V. K.

## LIST OF OUR EXCHANGES.

1 The Educational Review, Madras.
2 The Vedic Magazine, Gurukula, Kangri
3 Vhe Yoga Mimamsa, Lonavla.
4 The Jaina Gazette, Madras.
5 Visva Bhārati Quarterly, Calcutta.
6 Āndhra Sahitya Parishat-Patrika, Cocanada.
7 Maharaja's College Magazine, Vizianagaram.
8 The Philosophical Quarterly, Amalner, East Khandesh.
9 Journal of Indian History, Madras.
10 The Mysore Economic Journal, Bangalore.
11 Bharati, Madras.
12 Nagari Prachrini Patrika, Benares.
13 The Maha-Bōdhi, Calcutta.
14 Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
15 Journal of the K. R. Kama Institute, Bombay.
16 Journal of the B. B. of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
17 Indian Antiquary.
18 Asia Major, Liepz.g.
19 Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
20 Indian Journal of Economics, Allahabad.
21 Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute [Leidon.
22 Epigraphia Indica.
23 Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
24 Sujāta, Hyderahad.
25 The Shrine of Wisdom, London.
26 Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
27 Telugu Samachar, Bombay.
28 Modern Review, Calcutta.
29 Bangiya Sāhitya Patrika, Calcuṭta.

30 Karṇātaka Parishat Patrika, Bangalore.
31 Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
32 Man in India, Ranchi.
33 Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
34 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Society, Washington.
35 Bulletin of The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
36 The Vaitarini, Cuttack
37 Triveni, Madras.
38 Oriental Magazine, New York.
39 British Buddhist, London.
40 Prabuddha Bhārata, Almora, Himalayas.
41 Journal of the Historical Society, Bombay.
42 The Harmonist, Calcutta.
43 The Young Men of India, Calcutta.
44 The Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
45 The Christian College Magazine, Madras.
46 The Manōrama, Allahabad.
47 Rural India, Madras.
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